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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE STANDARD.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Melodeon, in Boston, on Thursday, Jan. 26, 1865.

The President of the Society, EDMUND QUINCY, called the meeting to order at 10¼ o'clock.

The usual Committees were nominated and appointed, as follows:

Business Committee.—W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Henry C. Wright, Maria W. Chapman, Parker Pillsbury, Andrew T. Foss, Abby Kelley Foster, Stephen S. Foster, Wm. Wells Brown, Mrs. Caroline H. Dall.

Nominating Committee.—Elbridge Sprague, Abington; James N. Buffum, Lynn; W. W. Dutcher, Milford; A. M. Chase, Canton; Elias Richards, Weymouth; Richard Plumer, Newburyport; Josiah Hayward, Salem; Moses Wright, Georgetown; Joseph A. Howland, Worcester.

Finance Committee.—Ebenezer D. Draper, Hopedale; Lewis Ford, Boston; Samuel Dyer, Abington.

The President stated that the last two Committees were not full, and might be added to hereafter.

Samuel May, Jr., and Charles K. Whipple were chosen Assistant Secretaries.

The Treasurer's Report, duly audited, was presented to the Society, and read by the President. It showed the expenditures of the Society, during the year past, to be exactly equal to its receipts.

Report accepted, to be published with the proceedings of the meeting.

The Committee on Business not having had time to confer together, Wendell Phillips read for information of the Society a series of resolutions; and proceeded to address the Society in support of them.

The speech was heard with the closest attention by the audience, and received warm applause at the close. (For a report of this speech see second page.)

Three children, lately slaves in New Orleans, present in the meeting, came forward by request of the meeting, on the proposition of Mr. May, and sang a song—"I was born a little slave." Mr. May stated that these children, set free by the arms of the United States, had been gathered with thousands of others into schools under the administration of Gen. Banks, in Louisiana.

GEORGE THOMPSON then addressed the Society in an eloquent and impressive manner.

(This speech also will be fully reported hereafter).

It having been known that Frederick Douglass was present in the audience, by Mr. Thompson's reference to the fact, very many in the meeting next called loudly for Mr. Douglass, some also for Mr. Remond. The latter gentleman declined speaking at present, preferring to give way for Mr. Douglass, who then came forward and addressed the Society. (This eloquent and interesting speech will be written out for publication.)

Adjourned to 2½ o'clock, p.m.

Afternoon Session.

Met according to adjournment; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The first speaker introduced was JOHN PARKER, recently in the rebel service. He had been an American slave, and had but recently, only three years ago, made his escape. He is of unmixed African blood. He gave forcible expression to his hearty detestation of slavery, and of those amphibious creatures, Northern men with Southern principles. The negro, he thought, was in an unfortunate position, disliked and oppressed by both parties. His race wanted justice and liberty, and they would be thankful to any one, Northern or Southern, who would grant them these. He gave some details of his personal and family history, and replied to some of the current apologies for slavery. He rejoiced in the reformation of Gen. Butler from partisan democracy to practical abolitionism. He made impressive reference to the injustice yet practiced against the colored people in the city of Philadelphia, and rejoiced in the patient and unrevengeful disposition of that race, in spite of the gross cruelties which they had suffered. He had been compelled to assist in building the fortifications of Richmond, but he thought the greatest strength of the rebellion lay in the divisions of opinion among Northern men in regard to slavery.

The ex-slave children, under the charge of Rev. DEXTER S. KING, then came upon the platform, and after a brief sketch of their history from him, they sung the song, "Slavery's chain is bound to break"; after which, "Charley" spoke a little speech which had been written for him, in relation to his past history, and in eulogy of Gen. Banks, and the elder girl recited some verses.

Mr. GARRISON made a partial report in behalf of the Business Committee. They had agreed to report Mr. Phillips's resolutions, though without endorsing them. Each person must judge for himself in regard to the sentiments expressed in them.

Mr. PHILLIPS then proceeded to re-read the resolutions, as follows:

1. Resolved, That we acknowledge with devout gratitude the marvellous triumphs of the anti-slavery principle throughout the United States—the redemption of Missouri and Maryland from the curse and sin of the infamous system—and the bright hope that Kentucky and Tennessee will soon follow their honorable example.

2. Resolved, That while these successes give us unfeigned delight, and strengthen and encourage us, and while the victorious march of the national armies enables us to execute justice between man and man, and teaches us meanwhile at every step its imminent necessity, we still recognize that the end is not yet, that real and complete success is not achieved, and that the slave's cause needs yet our most devoted efforts, and our incessant vigilance.

3. Resolved, That if, as we are assured, the present so-called reconstruction of Louisiana is endorsed by the President, and its admission urged by him in Congress, either as an allowable exception or as a model for the other rebel States, we feel bound to protest against acknowledging such reconstruction, or its admission to the rights of a State.

4. Resolved, That as we have always claimed for the negro equal civil privileges with the white man, and demanded for the slave entire, immediate and unconditional liberty, we repudiate the so-called freedom of Louisiana; seeing in it only one of the needless abortive and oft-exploded attempts to prepare the negro for freedom, and deeming its real endorsement of apprenticeship and gradualism to exert a disastrous influence in other States and on the future of the negro.

5. Resolved, That waiving our objection to it as American citizens, which may not be fully discussed on a strictly anti-slavery platform, we consider that reconstruction a practical denial of the first principles of the anti-slavery agitation, that a negro is entitled at once and of course to all the privileges that belong to a white man in the same circumstances; that any system of apprenticeship or gradual abolition is at once impossible, unjust, and the seed of difficulty only. And we hold such form of reconstruction as putting to hazard all the fruits of national victory, and postponing indefinitely justice to the negro.

6. Whereas, a nation's duty is measured by its power; and, whereas, considering the nature of our government, and the relations of the national and State governments, no individual is safe unless he holds in his own hands the means of protecting his own rights; and, whereas, in claiming for the negro emancipation and freedom, we mean an effectual emancipation and a real freedom; and, whereas, considering the nature of our government, and the interlocking of State and Federal authority, [illegible] can be effectual and no freedom real, unless the negro has the ballot, and the States are prohibited from enacting laws making any distinction among their citizens on account of race or color; therefore,

Resolved, That, in our opinion, the United States Constitution needs two amendments; one prohibiting slavery everywhere throughout the Union, and another forbidding the States to enact laws which make any distinction among their citizens on account of race or color.

Mr. GARRISON made some comments upon Mr. Phillips's use of the word "reconstruction," and proceeded to read some further resolutions, as follows:

7. Resolved, That if, as reconstructed, Louisiana ought not to be admitted to the Union because she excludes her colored population from the polls, then Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and all the Western States ought not to be in the Union for the same reason; and while they are guilty of this proscription, it is not for them to demand of Louisiana a broader scope of republican liberality than they are willing to take in their own case.

Whereas, ever since the organization of the national government till now, every State in the Union has claimed and exercised the right to determine on what conditions any of its inhabitants shall wield the ballot—the General government taking no cognizance of the special inclusion or exclusion pertaining to its electoral laws; and, whereas, it is not to be presumed that any State will consent to have this established prerogative wrested from it, and a wholly different rule forcibly prescribed, either on the plea of military occupancy or by act of Congress, without an amendment of the National Constitution; and, whereas, by the conflicting laws or Constitutions of the several States in the matter of voting, colored citizens who are electors in one State are disfranchised in another, and thus this usage is attended with invidious and oppressive features, and ought not longer to prevail among a people claiming to be one in nationality of spirit, purpose and destiny; and, whereas, with a wise regard to the future peace and welfare of the republic, and especially to the allegiance of the Southern section of it, no one class should be left to ostracise another, under the plea of State sovereignty: therefore,

8. Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in submitting to the people an amendment of the Constitution, making the electoral law uniform in all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions.

ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, of Abington, then made a report from the Nominating Committee, recommending the following persons as officers of the Society for the coming year:

President—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

Vice-Presidents—Bourne Spooner, of Plymouth; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Adin Ballou, of Hopedale; Jefferson Church, of Springfield; Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield; Henry I. Bowditch, of Boston; James N. Buffum, of Lynn; Ellis Allen, of Medfield; John Bailey, of Lynn; David P. Harmon, of Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, of Bolton; Ezekiel Thacher, of Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem; John Clement, of Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, of Newburyport; Joshua T. Everett, of Princeton; Benjamin Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg; George Miles, of Westminster; Timothy Davis, of Framingham; Zebina H. Small, of Harwick; William Pope, Jr., of Dorchester; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington; Elias Richards, of Weymouth.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, of Boston.

Treasurer—Ebenezer D. Draper, of Hopedale.

Auditor—William I. Bowditch, of Brookline.

Counsellors—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Charles K. Whipple, Anne W. Weston, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges, Sarah J. Nowell.

On motion that the report be accepted and adopted, the President was proceeding to take the vote, when

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER moved that Mrs. Maria W. Chapman and Miss Anne W. Weston be excused from service on the Board of Managers of this Society, on the ground that they believed the work of the Society already done.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., said he thought it would be quite time to excuse those ladies from the Board of Managers, when they asked to be excused. They made no such request; and they were regular attendants at the meetings of the Board; and for one, he hoped the Society would not put itself in the singular position of adopting Mrs. Foster's motion.

In a few remarks, Mrs. Foster withdrew her motion.

Mrs. DALL wished to say, for one, that the services of such old, long-tried, and faithful friends as Mrs. Chapman and Miss Weston should be *claimed*, and eagerly claimed, by the Society.

The question was called for, and the Society unanimously accepted the report of the Nominating Committee, thereby electing its officers for the year.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., moved that the Finance Committee be instructed to proceed to take up collections both for immediate expenses and in behalf of the work of the Society yet before it. He replied to Mrs. Foster's allusion to the small amount received and expended by the Society the past year. We were not so vain as to think that anti-slavery work was done, now, by the Anti-Slavery Societies only. Thank God, the nation had been largely converted to the truth of the leading ideas and principles of this Society. Nevertheless, a work still remains to the old Anti-Slavery Societies. While there was a slave remaining on our soil, or a compromise remaining with the slaveholder, the Anti-Slavery Society must not die; and its friends must not allow it to die.

The motion of Mr. May was adopted.

On account of the necessary absence of Mr. Dyer, Mr. Elbridge Sprague was added to the Finance Committee.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said that if the Board of Managers would present work, appoint agents, and call for funds, he had no doubt funds sufficient would be forthcoming.

JAMES N. BUFFUM made some comments on the remarks of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, and depicted in an earnest manner the wonderful change that had taken place in the sentiment of the nation, favorable to the total extirpation of slavery.

Mr. GARRISON said that the Board of Managers of this body have shown their faith and their faithfulness by their works and need no better certificate than their reëlection for so many years by the Society. They required neither instruction nor information as to the work to be done in the future. What they wanted was the means to do with, and they would not be lacking in effort. He rejoiced to believe, however, and all the signs of the times indicated, that the labors of this Society were rapidly coming to a close. The Jubilee is near.

Mr. GARRISON read the following resolution, as expressive of his feeling:

9. Resolved, That in case the proposed anti-slavery amendment of the Constitution of the United States shall be adopted by Congress and the people at any time during the present year, the Board of Managers be instructed to summon a special meeting of this Society, to celebrate the auspicious event, and to terminate its existence as an Anti-Slavery organization.

He proceeded to support it, and to vindicate the course he had pursued for several years past, as an Abolitionist, and as an anti-slavery editor. He contended there was no difference between himself and other members of the Society, in regard to any principle or any right appertaining to the colored man.

He found himself less and less inclined to make speeches against slavery, inasmuch as the people have pronounced slavery accursed, and demand its extirpation. Statesmen and politicians and Generals are crying out against it, and he would not charge them with insincerity. He held such charges, aspersions or insinuations to be not only unkind but impolitic. The work is great, and time is needed to complete it. His anxiety was to hold the people, at this hour, mainly to the one point of the total abolition of slavery. That is the all in all for the redemption of the colored man, and the basis of all political rights. His rule for judging of public men was to give a fair consideration to the circumstances of each. He referred to the case of John Quincy Adams as showing an honorable appreciation, by Abolitionists, of the efforts of friends of freedom with views diverse from theirs. As to Gen. Banks, what is needed is not an endorsement of all that he has done, but a recognition that, amidst very great difficulties, he has accomplished some very commendable things for freedom and free institutions.

In regard to the ballot, Mr. Garrison said it was a conventional right of society, having its limitations, and had ever been so regarded; and, important as it was, it was not to be confounded with the natural right of a man to his personal ownership and liberty. For, otherwise, one human being was as much entitled to vote as another, without condition, and irrespective of sex or complexion. He was surprised to hear Frederick Douglass make the unqualified declaration that emancipation without the ballot was a mockery. Surely, Mr. Douglass did not think so when he burst his fetters, and fled from Maryland to the free soil of Massachusetts, where he found safety, protection, freedom of thought and speech, and was enabled everywhere to advocate the claims of his brethren in bonds, whom he had left behind. Surely, he then deemed such freedom an unspeakable gift—something that called for heartfelt thanksgiving—though unaccompanied by the ballot; freedom from the lash of the driver, from mental and moral degradation, from cruel outrage and wrong. And he should not now forget the thrilling feelings with which he regarded his successful exodus out of the house of bondage, nor allow himself to be hurried into extravagance of statement in his commendable zeal to obtain equal political rights.

What, then, of the elective franchise? From the foundation of our government, this question has been left to the several States. The Constitution of the United States recognizes no authority on the part of Congress or the National Executive to interfere with it. Hence the diversity of action among the States—the great majority proscriptively excluding colored citizens from the polls. Now, if we are going into that matter, let us have a measure which will reach, not Louisiana only, but that large number of Northern States which exceed her in political injustice to the colored man. And if the right to the ballot is to be put into the category of natural rights, then let us be consistent and demand it for the black woman as well as for the black man—for all women as well as for all men.

Mr. Garrison asked what was the authority for Mr. Phillips's statement, that Gen. *Sherman* caused a multitude of colored followers to be brutally driven back and subjected to be massacred by the enemy. [Mr. PHILLIPS—"I know it to be true."] Mr. Phillips says he knows it to be true. I do not; and I have never seen the evidence of it. On the contrary, I have seen various statements, by different writers on the ground, all setting forth the humanity and kindness of Gen. Sherman to the colored population of Georgia. As to the alleged murderous barbarity of Gen. Jefferson C. Davis, on a certain occasion, that remains to be authenticated; and, until it is, by official investigation, severe condemnation should be withheld.

Mr. Garrison expressed his entire confidence in the integrity of President Lincoln, and believed that he would fulfil all his solemn pledges and engagements pertaining to the millions he had emancipated by his proclamation.

CHARLES L. REMOND inquired whether Mr. Garrison wished the government to institute careful inquiry as to the treatment of colored men in the army and [illegible] Generals.

Mr. GARRISON said he desired and expected the government to protect them from outrage, so far as practicable.

Mr. FOSTER asked if Mr. Lincoln's pledge of retaliation for the Fort Pillow massacre had been redeemed.

Mr. GARRISON replied that the difficulty in that case was not in regard to the disposition of Mr. Lincoln, but to the impossibility of the government descending to such fiendish cruelty, and the perplexity of determining precisely what retaliatory measures to adopt. Just so in the case of our famished soldiers in the Libby and Andersonville prisons. Who in the audience would attribute inhumanity to Abraham Lincoln?

S. S. FOSTER stated that this meeting had been called for a single day only. Some members of the Hovey Committee (so called) thought an additional day desirable, and had engaged the hall for another day. He would therefore move that, when we adjourn to-night, it be to meet again to-morrow in this hall.

Mr. GARRISON objected to the motion, inasmuch as, in accordance with the course of the two past years, and after full consideration of the subject, the Board of Managers had voted to hold a meeting of but one day; and that vote was a unanimous one, in a full meeting, upon the motion of Mr. Phillips.

Mr. PHILLIPS said that Mr. Garrison was right in his statement that the Managers had *unanimously* voted in favor of one day; but, on further reflection, he had himself concluded that the various subjects of importance required a second day's discussion. He proceeded to set forth the importance of some of these subjects, especially the point of the admission of Louisiana.

Mr. GARRISON spoke further in support of his view of the matter, and was followed by Mrs. Foster, who desired another day's meeting.

The question being taken, it was voted to continue the meetings through the following day and evening.

The meeting was then adjourned to 7½ o'clock.

Evening Session.

Met according to adjournment, Mr. QUINCY, the President, in the Chair.

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, took the floor in defence of the government and legislation of the country against various attacks made upon them here to-day. He had been charged with "electioneering," he said. He proceeded to relate the circumstances of his speaking last Autumn in behalf of the reëlection of President Lincoln, which he supposed was the true reason of the outcry against him. He had been applied to by a member of the National Republican Committee to speak for them. His reply was that he was an Abolitionist—an immediate emancipationist, without any delay or compromise. "That is what we want," was the reply. If I go into this campaign was Mr. Foss's answer, I must go entirely free to say just what I have said as an agent of the Anti-Slavery Society. This was cheerfully agreed to. Now, said Mr. Foss, why should any one object to such "electioneering" as that? If the speaking of the utmost Anti-Slavery truth helps the Republican cause, should it not be helped? Indeed, added Mr. Foss, in this matter, I have only done what Stephen S. Foster himself did two years earlier, when in New Hampshire he accepted the request of the Republicans to aid them in their State election, and went from town to town, giving addresses which obtained very many votes for the Republican party.

A. BRONSON ALCOTT, of Concord, asked leave to express his latest thought on some of the subjects which had agitated the meeting. He wished first to say who, he thought, were to-day the "great teachers" of ourselves and of our country. He first referred to him who, 35 years ago, ventured to think and to say that slavery ought to be, could be, and must be abolished. "He is one of your teachers. But if he should fail to go forward as before, he will cease to be your teacher, and you will select some other." He then referred, by distinct allusion, to Wendell Phillips as the future leader and deliverer of the nation. Then he referred to George Thompson by name, and thought he also, though a great teacher and leader, was "something behind the times." He spoke of R. W. Emerson as the first of Americans, in thought, in philosophy, in independence of all other countries and races and minds. He playfully said he didn't know but Boston would get jealous of Concord, and took his seat amidst laughter.

S. S. FOSTER, "I have never been in closer relations with the Republican party than I am to-day. I have never had so close an interest in that party as I have to-day, for it never was so worthy of such interest as now." He explained how he came to lecture in New Hampshire as Mr. Foss had said. He had never asked any one to vote for the Republican party; but he stated his views in such a way as to show that the decided preference was to be given to that party.

Rev. Mr. MORSE of Haverhill, and Rev. Mr. WHITE of Boston briefly addressed the Society in behalf of its taking the most radical ground possible at this critical period.

Mr. GARRISON replied to the remarks of Mr. Alcott, disclaiming for himself all idea and desire of "leadership"—a small and unworthy ambition, in itself. He spoke with earnest feeling in favor of sustaining and encouraging every anti-slavery purpose and measure of the people and their government, and urging them forward to the work remaining to be done, instead of continually censuring and throwing suspicion and distrust upon them.

HENRY C. WRIGHT maintained, that when *chattel slavery* is abolished, the distinctive work of the *Anti-Slavery Society* is finished. The work thenceforth assumes a new shape, not of "anti-slavery," but for the securing of all the rights which belong to the freeman.

WENDELL PHILLIPS addressed the Society, in a speech of half an hour, which may be reported in full.

Adjourned to 10, a.m., of Friday.

Friday.—Morning Session.

Reassembled at the Melodeon, according to adjournment. The PRESIDENT called the meeting to order at 10½ o'clock, and the resolutions before the Society were read again by Mr. MAY.

W. PHILLIPS wished to state that the 8th resolution, relating to the Amendment of the Constitution, and the 7th relating to complexional distinctions, were written by Mr. Garrison.

He thought, in regard to these, that our special claim for acting in Louisiana is, that at present there are no laws there; the old Louisiana code is extinct; the United States have made no new laws; the only law now in that State is the will of Gen. Banks. As to Connecticut, and the other old States, we are not talking of what they do or do not, but of what the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should demand. The Federal government in regard to the seceded States have the matter entirely in their hands, and the only limitation to their action is common sense and expediency.

R. P. HALLOWELL wished to state a further objection to the resolution in question, namely, that they made remonstrances against the old pro-slavery States doing [illegible] right act, because their former conduct had been inconsistent with it. This Society has always been laboring for two things; the emancipation of the slaves, and their elevation. At the best view of present affairs, their work is only half done.

WILLIAM B. EARLE said he did not like Connecticut consistency; it has always been on the wrong side. He proceeded to speak of the aristocratic element in some of the early settlements of this country, and the fearful results which have come from the perpetuation of such distinctions among us. We ought [illegible] every State has a Bill of Rights as [illegible] as that of Massachusetts, or more perfect if [illegible] possible.

He particularly disliked the 7th of this series of resolutions and thought it calculated to do great harm. Every one of the laws discriminating against black [illegible] every State, is unconstitutional. Massachusetts has too long allowed the oppression of her colored citizens when they have chanced to come under [illegible] section of such States.

W. PHILLIPS read an extract from the STANDARD [illegible] arrived, on Gen. Sherman's plan of reconstruction, pointing out the opinion of that paper, which he [illegible] would not be suspected of being too radical, on [illegible] dangerous character of that plan. He also read [illegible] of the letter of Judge Durant of New Orleans in the same paper, exposing the evil character of Gen. Banks's rule, and showing that liberty has not yet been gained by the ex-slaves. A recent decision in a New Orleans court would go to show that men of color are not under the protection of the law in Louisiana. A proved murderer there was acquitted by the jury, in Judge D.'s opinion, only because his victim was a colored boy and the witnesses [illegible] deed of murder were all colored men.

C. L. REMOND thought that our resolutions of censure [illegible] this sort of freedom are too general in their [illegible], and that they ought not only to be out-spoken, [illegible] direct and specific as to be felt and regarded [illegible]. He had been pained by the disposition of Mr. Garrison to apologize for functionaries like President Lincoln and Gen. Banks. He thought that our function was freely to criticize whatever obstructed the enfranchisement and elevation of the colored people. Their rights are indentical with those of the white race. Justice to each is for the benefit of all. He for his part would speak out, though he had to speak against a dozen Wm. Lloyd Garrisons.

JOS. A. HOWLAND, of Worcester, spoke of the disposition to oppression still shown in Maryland, according to the statements made yesterday. He could see no such difference between Maryland and Missouri on one side, and Louisiana on the other, as to justify us in censuring the latter, while, according to the resolutions reported by Mr. Phillips, we should rejoice over the former. He thought the resolutions of Mr. Phillips self-contradictory in that particular.

S. S. FOSTER combatted this view, and explained what, to his mind, was a vital distinction between the two cases.

Mrs. A. K. FOSTER inquired whether the United States were not bound, constitutionally, to recognize every man as free and equal, under the law, with his fellow-men, in making any reconstruction in a rebel State.

S. S. FOSTER proceeded to read a resolution such as, he thought, Mr. Remond's remarks called for, and then made extended remarks upon the present position of this Society:

Resolved, That we regard the attempt to dignify the present condition of the colored people of Louisiana with the name of freedom as no less a transparent sham than a despicable fraud, disgraceful alike to the government which invented it, and the nation which tolerates it; and as American citizens, as well as Abolitionists, we earnestly protest against this shameful prostitution of Federal power to the destruction of the rights and liberty of the loyal masses of a sister State whose chains had been broken, and their right to national protection secured by the secession madness of their rebel masters.

Mr. Foster having, in his speech, charged Mr. Garrison (who was not present) with being ready "to make a compromise with the devil," and let down the claims of Anti-Slavery, George Thompson arose, read Mr. Foster's words which he had taken down, and called upon Mr. Foster to prove the charge or retract it. Mr. Thompson said the charge was groundless, calumnious, and malicious. Mr. Foster at first said he used the language *figuratively*; but Mr Thompson still holding him to his words, either to prove or to take them back, he asked why he [Mr. Foster] was held to a stricter rule on this platform than others were. He proceeded to refer to a remark that Mr. Thompson had made at the last New England Anti-Slavery Convention in regard to himself and his friend Parker Pillsbury, at a time when, by a vote of the Convention limiting speeches, he could not reply.

Mr. Thompson declared that he had no recollection of ever having used the alleged words [viz. that the names of Messrs. Foster and Pillsbury would rot, when the name of Abraham Lincoln would shine like a star in the firmament].

Rev. J. T. SARGEANT being called on by Mr. Foster, testified that he had heard the very words named. Mr. Thompson said, "If I did use those words, then, with all the contriteness of which my nature is capable, I express my regret for having done so, and I retract them entirely."

Mr. Foster allowed that this was magnanimous; but being called to imitate this magnanimity, and prove or retract the charge he had made against Mr. Garrison, he was understood to say that, if Mr. Garrison would answer him certain questions, he would then prove his charge, or would retract it.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read again the resolution offered by Mr. Garrison, and said that Mr. Garrison had yesterday repeatedly declared he would consent to no compromise, and to no legislation based upon complexional differences—as indeed his own resolution showed.

W. PHILLIPS said that as he had argued yesterday, the cases were wholly unlike. Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, etc., are not now in question. Louisiana has no Constitution; what is called so is only N. P. Banks's private memorandum book. He [Gen. Banks] had said to the members of Congress, "State what change you wish in the Constitution of Louisiana, and it shall be made in ten days." In this state of things, it is only in the power of the Federal government to determine whether Louisiana shall return to the Union with a just and equal Constitution or not.

As to the charge made against Gen. Sherman, in regard to the massacre of the blacks which followed his army, Mr. Phillips had no alteration of that charge to make, except to transfer it to higher shoulders. For himself, he knew no Jefferson C. Davis, or any inferior officer in such a case. He held Gen. Sherman himself responsible for the act, and still more President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton.

Mr. Phillips asked of Mr. Wright—"Do you say No or Yes to the present demand of Louisiana for admission to the Union?"

Mr. WRIGHT.—I will answer the question; that is what I have risen to do. We are in a fearful civil war. The Administration is trying to bring it to an honorable close. While we are in this war, the government trying to abolish chattel slavery, Louisiana and Tennessee are knocking for admission into the Union. Shall they be admitted on the same ground on which Connecticut and other old States already stand in the Union, or on new and peculiar terms? This is the question. Mr. Wright, therefore, would say "Yes" to the request of Louisiana for present admission, coming as she did with a Constitution abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery, which he thought was all we had a constitutional right to require. He further pointed out that the most of the States have the word "white" in their Constitutions, and this odious distinction the loyal States should obliterate before they could honestly demand the same of the returning rebel States.

Mr. PHILLIPS was much obliged to Mr. Wright for bringing the one vital point so clearly before the Society. He asks, why should Congress admit Pennsylvania, and refuse Louisiana? The answer is, it does *not* admit Pennsylvania. There is no question concerning the admission of Pennsylvania. She is in the Union already. The question is, what shall we do in the case of a State which is not now in the Union, but which seeks to enter it? If Pennsylvania were out, and should now ask to return, we ought to say forever, if necessary, "No, you cannot come in while you make unjust distinctions on the ground of color."

Mr. EARLE explained, referring to the admission of Missouri by way of illustration.

Mr. WRIGHT asked if this Society has ever petitioned Congress to do what *we* think it has no power to do? And further, if Congress has power now to refuse the request of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. PHILLIPS replied to the first question *No*, and to the second, *Yes*; and proceeded to argue that Congress had entirely within its power the terms of admission of a State *returning from rebellion*. That which the Louisiana Constitution describes as liberty is a sham and a mockery. The person to be held accountable for the infractions of negro rights is not Banks in Louisiana, nor Sherman in Georgia, but Abraham Lincoln, their official head.

Adjourned to 2½ o'clock.

Afternoon Session.

Met as adjourned, the PRESIDENT in the chair.

HENRY C. WRIGHT continued the morning discussion. He said the present Congress had admitted Nevada into the Union with the word "white" in its Constitution. Now, can this Congress prescribe a rule of action and admission for Louisiana, different from that which it had laid down for Nevada? He thought it could not; but there must first be an amendment of the Constitution.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., said it was best not to paint blacker than it is, even the Louisiana Constitution, and Gen. Banks's temporary system of labor. He showed wherein it had been, as he thought, misrepresented. We could easily enough see its defects, more easily perhaps than to have avoided them. It had been evident to very uncompromising anti-slavery men on the ground, that Gen. Banks had had an exceedingly difficult work to perform; that he had diligently sought to ascertain and to carry out the freedman's own wishes for himself, his wife, and his children; and that he had largely aided in forming a Constitution which abolished and prohibited slavery in Louisiana forever. This was not a work to be lightly spoken of by Abolitionists. Though it failed in the material point of giving to the freedman all those civil rights which are essential in a republic to individual rights and general safety, yet it did open the way to all these; and he, for one, would like the resolutions better, if they recognized these facts. He fully agreed in the necessity of giving to the freedmen of the South every right of citizens; though even the possession of the ballot will not, for a long time, be more than a partial protection. The freed people of the Southern States are the sincerest friends which the North and the Union have there as a class; the only friends. They have proved their manhood and earned their citizenship; and not only are they entitled to it, but they will have it, as certainly as that the Union will be restored. The eternal Providence has linked us all to the necessity of doing full justice to the colored man. None see this plainer than the really loyal white people of the South. That the resolutions might be condensed and amended, he moved their reference back to the Business Committee.

JOHN H. STEPHENSON, of Boston, said there was another very important light in which to look at this subject of full justice to the freedman—the commercial light. It makes a vast difference to Massachusetts, commercially, whether these men are treated as free men or only as apprentices. Formerly, there was manufactured here every year a large amount of miserable cloths, known as negro-cloths. Do you know, said he, that not a single manufacturer in Massachusetts to-day makes this cloth? (Applause) *The freed slaves will not have it.* So of their shoes. The manufacturers can no longer sell their old red brogans. They have to blacken them all, in order to sell them. The slaves will wear no badge of their old bondage (applause). Mr. Stephenson urged that all personalities should be dropped, and that we look only at the principles involved.

Dr. T. P. KNOX attacked the Louisiana system, and said that anybody who defended it was a coward and a traitor! He said that President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was a sham and a fraud! He detailed several alleged cases of oppression on the Port Royal islands of South Carolina, and declared that the freed people, so called, were really slaves there, bought and sold with the plantations, and compelled to work for fifteen cents a day, under the threat, that if they did not, they should be put into the army! Gen. Saxton, he said, is only head overseer of slaves there!

Mr. DENSMORE, of Pennsylvania, opposed the last motion—to refer the resolutions back to the Committee. He hoped the Society would adopt them as they are.

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke on the general aspects of the cause, the particular steps of its progress, and the law of that progress. He said that every statement here made by Dr. Knox, in regard to South Carolina, could be corroborated by witnesses whom none would impeach!

Mr. MAY—May I ask if you say that, in regard to Dr. Knox's statement, General Saxton is only a head-overseer of slaves in that department!

Mr. PILLSBURY—Perhaps not exactly that.

Dr. KNOX reiterated the statements, applying other offensive epithets to General Saxton. (Cries of "shame" from many in the audience.)

Mr. PILLSBURY read some copious extracts from a paper in his hand, commenting as he proceeded. He added, these are extracts from Mr. Garrison's correspondence with Professor Newman. And, said he, if it is claimed that the Abolitionists are still united in sentiment, "at least *one* illustrious exception must be made."

In 1860, the Democratic party met at Charleston, S. C.; thither went Benjamin F. Butler and many others of the North, and the great storm and wind of their debates and discussions swept over the land; but the Lord was not in the wind. Then came a great earthquake at Chicago, which cast up to the surface Abraham Lincoln; but the Lord was not in the earthquake. And then came the fire upon Fort Sumter, followed by the fires of war all over the land; but the Lord was not in the fire. "And after the fire (turning and pointing to Wendell Phillips), a still small voice."

He referred to the man-worship, as he thought, which had been lavished by Abolitionists upon Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. PHILLIPS moved that Mr. May's motion be laid on the table. Carried.

H. C. WRIGHT moved that the Business Committee be instructed to prepare a Petition to Congress, asking for an Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting all distinctions among citizens of the several States on account of race or color. He offered a resolution to that effect.

S. S. FOSTER and W. B. EARLE earnestly opposed the adoption of the resolution.

GEORGE THOMPSON advocated it.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS also opposed its adoption, on the ground that it would cause delay, and perhaps disaster, to the cause of just reconstruction.

Adjourned to 7½ p.m.

Evening Session.

Met according to adjournment, the PRESIDENT in the chair. Mrs. FRANCIS ELLEN HARPER, formerly Miss WATKINS, of Baltimore, very earnestly and eloquently pleaded the cause of the people of her race and complexion, and prayed that no disabilities should be admitted on account of their color. They had dearly earned their rights, and ought to have them all.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following substitute for a resolution before the meeting:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society be instructed at once to propose, and forward to Congress, a memorial asking that it forthwith adopt a rule, that neither Louisiana nor any other State (Louisiana being afterwards accepted as an amendment by Mr. Wright) shall ever be admitted into the Union, except on the basis of equality as to the right of suffrage, without regard to color.

Mr. Wright, in support of the resolution, and in reference to the admission of Louisiana, said, in substance—The question before the meeting is not, has the negro equal rights with the white man to suffrage, to labor, and education? No Abolitionist doubts it. Nor is the military scheme, or the motives and character of Gen. Banks before us. But this—Louisiana knocks at the door of the Union for admission with a Constitution. What are the facts respecting that Constitution, in regard to negro slavery? They are substantially these, as I am at present informed:—(1.) Negro slavery is immediately, unconditionally, and forever abolished. (2.) The abolition of all laws relating to negro slavery. (3.) The Legislature forever prohibited from passing any laws recognizing men as property. (4.) Legislature required to make any laws that may be necessary to make the abolition of negro slavery a practical reality. (5.) No complexional distinction in regard to labor and education. (6.) The negro stands on an equality with the white man before the courts as a witness, a juror, a suitor: also in regard to deliberation and communication, whether through the press, the pulpit, or the platform. (7.) Equality as to governmental protection to the negro in his domestic, social, commercial, and ecclesiastical relations. (8.) The Legislature of Louisiana is empowered to extend suffrage to such negro citizens of the United States residing in the State "as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness may be deemed entitled thereto." (See Article 15 of the Constitution of Louisiana.) By this article every negro in Louisiana who pays taxes, or who has been in military service in any capacity, or who is sufficiently enlightened to exercise suffrage intelligently may become a voter. In this the State of Louisiana, now asking for admission, is far ahead of most of the loyal States in regard to negro suffrage.

It must be kept in mind that the settled policy of the government from its foundation has been, that the power to decide who shall vote rests solely with each State. Over the qualifications for suffrage Congress has no control. True, Congress may refuse to admit Louisiana because of the word "white" in her Constitution as the basis of suffrage; but, in doing so, it would violate the rule under which but a few weeks ago, it admitted Nevada, and under which every State that has come into the Union since it was formed has been admitted, with the single exception of Vermont. Has Congress a right to intermeddle with suffrage in Louisiana, when it has, by its action, disclaimed all right to control it in any other State?

It may be said that the President and his officials have already interfered with suffrage in Louisiana, and assumed to decide who may and may not vote. When the war power dominates, civil constitutions and laws lie prostrate; but the decisions of war prevail only while the military rules. Louisiana comes now with an organic law for a permanent civil government. Has Congress the right, would it not be partial for it to demand of that State, a basis of suffrage differing from all others that have been admitted? The exercise of this power had better be left with the States.

A. B. ALCOTT offered some thoughts upon color. He said Frederick Douglass was the leader of the colored people of this country, and would before long be their Representative in the National Senate.

Rev. Mr. WHITE discussed somewhat Gen. Banks's scheme of freedom and "organized labor" in Louisiana.

GEORGE THOMPSON came forward at request of many in the house to address the Society. He wished, he said, to support the motion offered this evening as a substitute for that proposed this afternoon. His address was very eloquent, and made evidently a profound impression. It will probably be reported in full, but no report can give the force and fire of his spoken words.

WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke at some length, and with unusual warmth of manner, upon the one great necessity—to keep Louisiana, with its present system out of the Union. He severely assailed Mr. Wright's resolution, and declared he would "allow no red herring to be drawn across his path." He represented forcibly the imminent and immense danger to the country, if Louisiana was suffered to come in with her present Banks-Constitution. It would be a precedent, and similar terms could not be refused to Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and other rebel States, when they chose to return. We should have slavery back again, in spirit if not in form, with power to work infinite mischief, and with no chance of offering it any effectual resistance again for another twenty years at least. He would have nothing come between him and an emphatic NO! to Louisiana.

Mrs. A. K. FOSTER proposed that the resolutions reported by Mr. Phillips be passed by acclamation.

S. MAY, JR., preferring the usual method of voting, moved that the entire audience, who had listened so closely to the interesting debate of the evening, should be requested to vote on them.

W. B. EARLE spoke some moments in language of warning.

Mr. PHILLIPS, by request, read again the resolutions referred to by Mrs. Foster, and they were put to vote, and adopted by an emphatic and unanimous Aye, followed by cheering. The remaining resolutions offered by Mr. Garrison and Mr. Wright were, on the motion of S. S. Foster, laid on the table.

S. S. FOSTER came forward, and offered the following resolution, prefacing it by the remark that, if objection to it was made, it would not be pressed:

Resolved, That this Society hereby recommends the Executive Committee to renew all its former operations as far as possible against the still existing cruel and proscriptive spirit of the American government and people, which seems willing if not determined to use the colored man as a soldier, and then to withhold from him an equal voice in those political institutions which he is compelled to defend with his money and his life; and to make a special call upon the anti-slavery public for funds wherewith to carry forward such operations.

Objection was made in several quarters. C. L. REMOND urged it should not be withdrawn, and it was not withdrawn.

The vote being taken, the audience being on their feet, and many having already left the hall, it was declared adopted.

☞ The amount received by the Finance Committee was—Cash, $305.81. Pledges, $375; a smaller sum than at any annual meeting before for a long term of years, and obviously quite insufficient to meet any considerable operations of the Society.

At 10½ o'clock, p.m., adjourned, *sine die*.

EDMUND QUINCY, President.
CHAS. K. WHIPPLE, SAMUEL MAY, JR., } Assist. Secretaries.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

From the Liberator.

WE devote a large portion of our inside form to a condensed report of the proceedings of the two days' meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at the Melodeon, in this city, last week. For reasons entirely satisfactory to us, we neither participated in the proceedings nor attended any of the meetings on the second day. Where the platform is free to all comers, it is not surprising that some persons take advantage of it to display their folly and give vent to their personal spleen, under the specious guise of being deeply concerned lest the rights of the colored people should be compromised! The discussions, as a whole, were earnest, able and eloquent. The speech of Mr. Phillips on Thursday evening, and of George Thompson on Friday evening (neither of which we heard), it is universally conceded were of a very high order. They will be printed in full hereafter, as well as some other speeches. As the resolutions submitted by Mr. Phillips were adopted by putting them to the assembly, and not confining the vote to members of the Society, the *Society* is not strictly committed to them; especially is this true of the last resolution, introduced by Mr. Foster at the last moment, and adopted by a confused and dissolving audience. In regard to the duty and importance of claiming equal rights and privileges for the colored population, there was, of course, no difference of opinion among the Abolitionists.

THE PIONEERS IN COUNCIL.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

THE annual meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society opened last week, as usual, with the Subscription Festival on Wednesday evening. Music Hall was well-filled with a choice company of the old and tried friends of Freedom, together with a multitude of more recent converts—"it is so fashionable to be anti-slavery," said a lady at our right, as we mingled in the crowd, meeting celebrities at every turn. Mr. Garrison, with his calm, noble face and rare fascination of manners; Samuel May, Jr., refined, genial and slightly anxious in expression; A. T. Foss, burly and aldermanic; Edmund Quincy, with his arching brows and "undeniable lineal mouth and chin"; George Thompson, in his Emersonian hat; Bronson Alcott, towering above all the rest, with childlike saintliness of aspect, rising among common men "like a marble shaft among wooden pillars"; these, with a nebula of lesser lights, formed a brilliant and distinguished company as one often meets.

Being distinctively a social assembly, there was but little speaking. Rev. R. C. Waterston and George Thompson occupied a portion of the time, and the trio of contraband children from New Orleans, whose faces are familiar to us through various photographs, were introduced by their guardian, and sung their songs to an admiring and sympathetic audience. Rebecca, the oldest, is a child of rare beauty, with clear-cut features of the finest Saxon type, and a rich, olive complexion, which, however, is not sufficiently marked to suggest a suspicion of her African origin, unless one were to apply the test so happily put by Mr. Alcott at a subsequent meeting, in which he disposed of the whole question of color and race at a single stroke: "There is not a pair of black eyes in this audience but can be traced in a direct line back to Ethiopia. I advise every man to look into his genealogy—if he can."

The meetings on Thursday were well attended and the discussions were deeply interesting, bearing chiefly on the question of "Reconstruction."

In the evening, Mr. Alcott, in a brief address, paid a hearty, beautiful tribute to the noble virtues and long fidelity of Mr. Garrison, and predicted that his work was to be taken up and carried on to completion by younger hands, and that the leadership would pass naturally into the hands of his son and disciple, Wendell Phillips.

Mr. Garrison followed, disclaiming any leadership. He had been but an humble worker with the rest. There was no higher and no lower in this brother-

hood. He laid claim to [illegible] honor than the [illegible] Abolitionist in [illegible] man in the earnestness [illegible] to the slave.

Mr. Phillips followed. He [illegible] more painful to him than anything [illegible] platform which placed him seemingly in [illegible] of antagonism to Mr. Garrison. [illegible] his anti-slavery labors, he owed it all to [illegible] and his leader. [illegible] own [illegible]. He then reverted to the hour—"Reconstruction" [illegible] iana, with her system of negro [illegible] was merely a modified form of slavery.

On Friday, in course of the [illegible] arose between Mr. Foss and Mr. [illegible] some remarks of Mr. Foss's reflecting on the position of Mr. Garrison, who was not present. [illegible] called out George Thompson [illegible]. The discussion grew warm [illegible] becoming, as usual [illegible] rous in speech [illegible] yielding [illegible]. Mr. Thompson [illegible] Mr. F[illegible] ous and [illegible] substantiate [illegible] had generally [illegible] speakers on that [illegible] Mr. Thompson's severe words [illegible] regard to [illegible] Parker Pillsbury. Mr. Thompson [illegible] not remember to have used such language. The discussion grew stormy. [illegible] became clamorous on both sides. Mr. [illegible] came forward and testified to the truth of Mr. Foster's statement. This brought Mr. Thompson again to his feet, all the sturdy English honesty and [illegible] of his nature rushing to his lips, in a [illegible] frank and most graceful apology, which changed at once the whole temper of the meeting. Every [illegible] responded. . . . .

Mr. Thompson [in the evening] followed [illegible] eloquent speech, full of counsel, warning and [illegible] and Mr. Phillips spoke again. He said—"I will attend to the Amendment of the Constitution when I have leisure; but one thing at a time. The question now is 'Shall Louisiana be admitted?' The White House has set its foot down that she shall. I have set my foot down that she shan't!"

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS

At the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Thursday morning, Jan. 26th.

Phonographically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

I HAVE a series of resolutions, containing the substance of what I want to say this morning, and though the Business Committee has not yet had a meeting to act upon them, I will read them, and they can be afterwards acted upon. The previous reading of them will, I think, enable the hearer to understand more distinctly the ground and object of all I have to say at these meetings of the Society. My own opinion is, that the 8th day of November closed the record up to that day. We need have no criticism on matters which took place before. In our judgments of men we differ, but our business is with facts of national action. As Abolitionists, we shall probably no more agree in our judgment of individuals than the sects agree in their creeds, no matter how long or how patiently we may argue such questions. But if our sessions have any purpose or utility it must consist in the expression of an anti-slavery opinion in regard to the facts now taking place in American civil life; and my judgment is, that the great duty of Abolitionists at this time is to record their opinion as to such facts; otherwise, there seems to be no meaning, no purpose in any meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. It is with that view that I have prepared three or four resolutions.

[These resolutions were published last week.]

These resolutions seem to me to cover all we need to say of the present position of public affairs. The future just opening upon us has one question for Abolitionists, and that is, the terms of reconstruction. The great danger in that future consists in three facts. The first is, that the prejudice against the negro is not more than half eradicated from the North. Secondly, that the Republican party, which has the government in its control, is weakened in its principle by the very numbers which have rallied to its flag. Thirdly, that the Executive pleads earnestly an immediate reconstruction of States, within the next twelve months.

The first element to which I adverted—the continuing prejudice against the negro—and the second—that the Republican party is not itself able to command a decisive vote on questions of absolute justice to the negro—make the third—the wish of the Executive to reconstruct under such circumstances—vitally important in an anti slavery point of view. I have no doubt, any more than the most sanguine among us, that if the same pressure could be continued upon the Administration which we have enjoyed hitherto, and which has made 1864 out of 1861, we should compel liberty out of the present aspect of affairs. But that pressure was composed of two elements. On the Southern side it was war; on the Northern side it was discontent with the Executive. The government has travelled from 1861 to 1864 not of its own will. I do not regard it as having accomplished one single step self-moved. In every case, it has been bayoneted up to it by the pressure of outside public opinion—by a distinct intimation from almost every quarter, and especially from Abolitionists, that its course and attitude were not satisfactory. On the Southern side, there was another element—war. As long as that continued, it ripened the South and the North. It educated both parties. Our defeats educated the Northern mind—our victories educated the Southern mind; and while this process went forward, there was no great fear that the government would be able to baulk the purposes which underlie the great civil convulsion. But the press and the general public have measurably discontinued, within the last six months, this critical pressure and rebuke of the attitude of the Administration. The public mind has largely settled down into the conviction that the question is safe, somewhere—either in the purposes of the Executive or in the march of events, and consequently the press and the general public have largely discontinued their criticisms. On the other hand, when we look at the South, there is a battle going on inside the Confederacy far more momentous in its influence on our future than any battle Grant will fight, or than Sherman has fought; that is the contest between the statesmen of Georgia and Richmond as to which shall lead the Confederacy. Vice-President Stephens, Gov. Brown, and the class of men whom they represent, are undoubtedly wearied with the efforts already made to establish independence, and satisfied that they have done enough. I do not look upon them as having exhausted their means, or as intimating that they have exhausted their means. On the contrary, even Sherman—certainly a competent judge—writing from Georgia itself on the 25th day of October, two months after the victory at Atlanta, commences his letter with an observation of this kind, which he repeats in another letter of the same date—"This war is only begun." Doubtless he meant, "I see around me so many evidences of the means of continuing the war, that, in a military point of view, it is only begun." If any party at the South discontinue it, they discontinue it not of necessity, but of purpose. Now, the Georgia plot, so to call it, to unhorse Davis and throw him from the saddle, is a momentous one as regards the anti-slavery issue. If they conquer, the idea of peace dominates in the Confederacy. When that idea gets the helm of the Confederacy, peace will be made; no doubt of it, because the whole tone of the Republican party is peace, on some condition or other, shortly, from political and military necessities, as they judge. We were told in Washington, by a dozen members of the House, that if North Carolina should knock at the door to-day, having chosen Senators and Representatives, and should say, "I will [illegible] enter as I stand; I will discuss slavery when I have entered, but I submit to the flag—admit me!"—we are assured, I say by half-a-dozen members, [illegible] could not take a vote, she would be admitted by acclamation. [illegible] is the temper of Congress itself. But Congress, even [illegible] at moment of mind, recognizes a [illegible] that the [illegible] speediest [illegible] prevails in the White House with ten-fold [illegible] intensity that it does in its own body. If, therefore, from any respectable portion of the South, especially from a portion that had got control of the Confederacy, an offer of peace should come, there would undoubtedly be negotiations resulting in it; and every man who is acquainted with the state of public feeling even here knows, that if Georgia should ask to-morrow to be admitted to this Union on the basis of freeing her slaves, within ten years, or twenty years, every other man in the community would say, Amen! that two-thirds of the Republican party would honestly say Amen! For [illegible] ber that the Republican [illegible] when [illegible] its on the left [illegible] on the right hand, [illegible] who see [illegible] have no definite conception of [illegible] real ex[illegible] the subject; and their [illegible] to influ[illegible] us. They would [illegible] through [illegible] and any [illegible] must sanction. [illegible]. The President has [illegible] Committee on Reconstruction [illegible] bill [illegible] no [illegible] Thomas [illegible] Louisiana [illegible] says of Congress [illegible] Louisiana reconstruction [illegible] that any one State [illegible] Congress will necessarily be [illegible]. Louisiana once admitted [illegible] Georgia or South Carolina comes [illegible] claim: "Give us [illegible] you have accorded to [illegible]" and every man acquainted with politics [illegible] parties in particular to-day [illegible] a vote against such [illegible] and you fix the precedent [illegible] injured if it is [illegible] by the first admitted [illegible]. Congress submits—as everybody [illegible] they must submit, however [illegible] constitutional instance [illegible]—when Congress submits to [illegible] reconstruction of Louisiana, it establishes the principle [illegible] Louisiana as the guide for future reconstruction. What is that principle? I hardly need to explain it. Fortunately for us, Judge Field has exhibited in one act its nature. A brutal, domineering, infamous overseer spirit, such as we knew it before '60, its symbol the howie-knife, comes back to the House as the chosen representative, at the first blush of the white men of Louisiana—one of them represented to me, by competent authority, a month ago, as really a rebel at the bottom of his heart as any one that treads the continent. That is the first harvest reaped in the hot enthusiasm of the hour, with every eye in the nation planted on the reconstruction. What element of the white race will follow?. What class of men will hereafter come up to share authority with us, if this be their best sample?

But this is not, perhaps, the exact question for an Abolitionist; it is the question for a citizen. We are sharing sovereignty with that white race; but to-day I come here merely to criticize the attitude of that white race toward the negro. You will remember that to-day we have the power to protect the negro in New Orleans as perfectly as we have in the streets of Boston. The slightest fringe of his rights trampled upon, and the hand of government can reach the offender as effectually in New Orleans as in State street. That is the attitude to-day. How necessary is it that government should enjoy that right? Look at Maryland and see. Maryland accepted emancipation at her own will; she voted it of her own will. It was not forced upon her by conquest; by the act of the Federal government; it was accepted by her own citizens. If there ever was a State, therefore, where the interest of the black race could be trusted to the fairness and good purpose of the white race, it was Maryland. What was the fact? Twenty-four hours after that Proclamation of Gov. Bradford's, making the Constitution the law of the land, the whites of that State took up a forgotten law, and proceeded with speedy and vengeful activity to put it into execution. Left alone a week, as I was assured in Baltimore, they would have had all the young colored persons so thoroughly apprenticed that liberty to them would have been a sham for the next fifteen or twenty years. The courts were powerless to oppose it. Gen. Wallace, of the United States army, on the spot, issued his order superseding every court in Maryland, as far as the negro was concerned. That order, withdrawn within a week at the request of the loyal men, because it had done its work, defeated the plot; but had he not been there, there would have been no power competent to arrest that conspiracy, which our friend here (Geo. Thompson) knows was nothing but a literal repetition of what was done in the West Indies. Jamaica parallels our experience in every particular. I remember when I was in England in 1841, the delegates from Jamaica told me exactly the same story that the loyal men of Baltimore did last month.

This is the white race, in the best circumstances, at the commencement. As I say, while we are in actual possession of a State, holding it by the army, we can protect the negro; reconstruct a State, and where are we? Why, we have put up a fence between the Federal government and the State government. The bill before the House proposes, for instance, that South Carolina, with 300,000 white men, and not a loyalist among them, and 400,000 black men, and not a disloyalist among them, shall be reconstructed; the fence erected between us and them, the government of the State given to these 300,000 rebels, and the black men put under their feet helplessly. If we were in England, I should have no doubt and no fear, because the English realm has but one law, practically, and the statute of London runs to the end of the realm. By the Queen's Bench or the Privy Council, a magistrate at the end of the earth can be unseated according to the will of Parliament. That is England, but that is not America. Put up the fence between you and Louisiana or South Carolina, and the Federal law runs to it, not over it, except in two or three specified cases. Suppose (what is by no means certain) that we get an Amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery. Many Abolitionists have said, that with the prohibition of chattel slavery, and an Abolitionist for Chief-Justice, the negro is safe. How unwise! On the other side the State fence is Robert Small and Gov. Aiken. On this side is Salmon P. Chase and the Federal Constitution. Why, if Gov. Aiken has got any brains, he can grind Robert Small to powder in nine hundred and ninety-nine different ways without trespassing on the Anti-Slavery Amendment; and until he does, Salmon P. Chase cannot interfere. When I come to speak to you, in a moment, of Louisiana, you will see that Banks has actually set them the example and given them the very method by which to grind the negro without restoring chattelism. Do not let us forget the history of the anti-slavery struggle, and what it has taught us of the limited authority and influence of the Federal government. Every man of you, fifty years old, can remember the experience of the Federal government in 1831, when the strongest power in the nation grappled with the State of Georgia, and was defeated. When Georgia seized a converted Cherokee in 1831, and said, "I will hang him," Chief-Justice Marshall said, "You cannot; it is unconstitutional." Orthodoxy rallied from Massachusetts Bay to the Mississippi and said, "You shall not; it is infamous." Where is there a stronger power than the Orthodox sects of the North for an army and the Supreme Court for a general? Congress denied the legality of the proceeding. The press of the country, ignorant and exultant, said, "It can't be done." "See it [illegible] can't," said Georgia and hung him up. Then she took Samuel Worcester and put him in jail. Behind him stood the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign and Domestic Missions, in front of him the Chief-Justice, but Georgia turned the key on him, and there he lay, until, in her sovereign will, she chose to open it. South Carolina took our black seamen out of ships and put them in jail. Winthrop even was lifted to [illegible] enough to prove it was illegal; the Secretary of [illegible] protested it was unconstitutional: Massachusetts protested; Congress protested; we sent Samuel Hoar down to say, "Wayward sister, why do you so?" "Go home or I will put you in," was the answer. We had the Federal authority, the North, and the Constitution on our side, but they availed nothing. Texas took six of our black men and sold them, ten years ago, and we do not know to-day where they are. [illegible] constitutional, all of the public opinion on our side largely at the North, but Congress said, "We know no means by which to check a State." Chief-Justice Marshall exhausted all his ingenuity in the Cherokee case. The interlocking of State and Federal authority is so complex, that when a State, short of war, chooses thus to throw herself athwart the [illegible], it is exceedingly [illegible] the win[illegible].

[We] are to remember the history of [illegible] law, of course, what every man knows, that at [one] time we had a pro-slavery [illegible] we are to have an anti-slavery one, how is the future? but I want to bring to your minds, first, the almost impossibility, even with the Constitution on our side, of attacking a State, and then to remind you that the white men of the reconstructed States can keep inside the Constitution, be free from any legal criticism, and [illegible] the negro where no Abolitionist would be willing to see him.

Now, to my mind, an American Abolitionist, when he asks freedom for the negro, means effectual freedom, real freedom, something that can vindicate itself. I do not believe in [a free]dom that trusts the welfare of the [illegible] good will and benevolence of the upper class. [illegible] is aristocracy. The [illegible] in England is in the hands of some eight hundred thousand or a million of men, and the welfare of [illegible] their sense of justice. That is their [illegible] of government, it is not ours. Our philosophy of government since the 4th day of July, 1776, is that no class is safe, no freedom is real, no Emancipation is effectual, which does not place in the hands of the man himself the power to protect his own rights. That is the genius of American institutions. Now, when I see the nature and relative position of the State and Federal governments, and know that the white man of the North, if he wished to, could not protect the negro of Louisiana, with a State fence between them—would not if he would, and I still believe would not if he would, in the absolute sense of justice and freedom—then, as an Abolitionist, under such a government, I fall back on the democratic principle, and claim of the anti-slavery party that it shall be content with no emancipation which does not put into the hands of the freedman himself the power to protect his newly-acquired liberty (applause). No emancipation is effectual, no freedom is real, which does not take that scope. I argue it simply as a question of security, not of justice or of magnanimity. For a nation to ask a man to fight for them and then leave him without full citizenship, is an infamy which would make a man forswear all part in such a nation (loud applause). I have seen a letter from one of our ablest Captains who writes—"I do not believe in the equality of the races. I do not accept the policy of allowing the negroes to fight. I do not believe in universal suffrage nor in universal freedom. I believe that this is a white man's battle, and that white men should fight it. But," he says, "if the white man chooses to give himself to trade, and let the negro fight the battle, the hand that defends the country has a right to govern it" (applause). That is honest logic. That is the honest logic of an opponent of anti-slavery. That is the logic of a man whose growing popularity, with such a heart, constitutes one of the great dangers of our future. If we are to believe in the sincere purpose of the Administration to arm the negro and give him his musket as the basis of his right to every privilege of citizenship, how shall we explain that when Sherman asked for Col. Bowman, months ago, to organize the negroes who sought our camp, from that day to this, though often repeatedly urged, no one has been sent him! From that day to this, the government has never responded to his call. From that day to this, the Executive at Washington has not answered, though urged even by Maryland, to do it. They left him to sully the noblest achievement of the war by the most infamous act that ever disgraced a nation. When he swept across the continent doing what no soldier had done before, had he gathered the only help he got, the black man, into his ranks, his star would have taken its place in the highest galaxy of patriots and captains. But instead of that, with deliberate infamy, he paused at the end of a causeway a mile long, let the white men pass, and held back the negroes who had brought him horses, food, information, and then tore up the bridge, and stood by while rebel cavalry shot that mass of friends down as they would a herd of buffaloes (cries of "Shame.") The proudest action of the war is covered over with a blot sufficient to make any American unwilling to name it as done by his countrymen. Show me an instance, under any plea of military strategy or necessity, where a white man seeking our lines, in the whole four years, has been hurled back on the bayonets of the enemy, and our men stood by and saw him shot down, and I will grant some excuse, some plausible apology for this infamous butchery by the first military genius of the white race. I know, of course, in whose immediate presence and by whose immediate order the act was done, but as you do not seek out the name of the soldier who actually tore up the bridge, but visit your rebuke on this Davis who ordered the act, so I go farther and hold the head of the whole expedition, Sherman, responsible. Any marked act in that march which he has not censured, he must be held to have indorsed and approved. This infamy is too monstrous for our indignation to be satisfied, grovelling down among petty underlings, like this Jefferson C. Davis. I hold Sherman responsible since he has endorsed it by silence. If the Administration remains silent, then I hold President Lincoln and Mr. Secretary Stanton the real murderers. They can hasten fast enough to relieve a general who spares the lives of his soldiers; we wait to see what they will say to one who murders them.

Some of these resolutions refer to Louisiana, to which I was coming in my argument. The President offers it to us as an initial reconstruction. We may see what sort of freedom, therefore, we are to hope for if the black man he left to the tender mercies either of a Major-General or of the white men of the rebel States. But in examining this matter, I shall rely almost exclusively on the speech of Gen. Banks at Tremont Temple. I take that not because I think Gen. Banks's statement to be any evidence whatever of the truth of what he says, but because I find enough admitted and claimed for merit by him in that speech to make me repudiate Louisiana. Thoroughly untrustworthy in regard to the whole question of Louisiana, only a brain thrice sodden would accept Banks's evidence on any point relating to the negro. A Major General, born in Massachusetts, graduated by three years of such a war as this, who could say to the black regiment of Louisiana, which had left half its number under the mouths of the enemy's cannon, when it asked to put "Port Hudson" on its flag, "no," while he permitted a white regiment, doing picket duty two miles off, so to inscribe their banner, is no fit witness where the negro is concerned (applause). I refuse him all right to testify; and I visit the same criticism even on the War Department when I recollect that it is but a month since they rectified that infamous injustice. Week after week, month after month went by, and the men whose comrades had died under the very mouths of the enemy's cannon had a flag unmarked, while so many a white man flaunted his lie in their faces, and the government at Washington, indifferent and heartless, permitted this injustice. But, as I say, I accept the acknowledgments of Gen. Banks in his speech as sufficient for my purpose. What you call the freedom of Louisiana is "Banks's freedom," and it is no freedom for me. The English, in 1834, called their apprenticeship system, "Stanley freedom"; they replaced it soon by something better. The Abolitionists, asking for bread—Emancipation—are presented with a stone—"Banks's freedom." I, for one, do not accept it.

In that speech, Gen. Banks himself describes his system as one planned "to *prepare* the negro for as perfect an independence as that enjoyed by any other class." The anti-slavery agitation of thirty years stamps its contempt on any *preparation* of the negro for justice (loud applause). If there is anything patent on the whole history of our thirty years' struggle, it is that the negro no more needs to be *prepared* for liberty than the white man (applause). Yet Gen. Banks begins his speech by saying he has instituted a system to *prepare* the negro for liberty. He then goes on to say, that in the State of Louisiana, the negro is not allowed to make a contract. Now, I try him in two ways. He says neither the negro nor any laboring man in Louisiana can be allowed to make a contract. If he is sincere, why hasn't he put the white laborer as well as the black under his Provost Marshal? (Applause) If his principle is a correct one, his law should be, "No laboring man in Louisiana shall fix the rate of his own wages, fix the term of his own contract, or leave the spot where he has agreed to labor"—but there is no such rule. Gen. Banks, having laid down the principle that no *laboring man* is able to make a contract in Louisiana, proceeds to do—what? To settle that no *black man* shall make a contract! Showing the sham of the original principle. What he means, practically is, "no laboring negro shall make a contract."

We never shall have a nation until it is governed [illegible] The [illegible] between a human [illegible] an artificial [illegible] a [illegible] law. The [illegible] of Charl[illegible] a wide [illegible] by law, and a [illegible] sat down into its place by law. The [illegible] of Massachusetts [illegible], a man competent to sell his own time [illegible] his own work, and when [illegible] a jury as appeal to. [illegible] at the [illegible] road and a jury at the end. That is [illegible] to the interpretation Gen. Banks's liberty [illegible] right to fix his wages; no right to [illegible] practically no [illegible] chosen [illegible] right to quit it; [illegible] and employer tried by a Provost [illegible]. History always repeats itself. In [illegible] the apprenticeship system, and [illegible] negro, "if [illegible] your master go [illegible] the stipendiary Magistrate." Who was he? A commissioned Englishman who travelled from plantation to plantation [illegible] the negro never got [illegible] Provost Marshal. He [illegible] of slaves. It [illegible] know we have never had [illegible] "the domestic institution"; [illegible] "the patriarchal institution"; [illegible] a Methodist Bishop was requested [illegible] of his slaves, but to get [illegible] daughters. Mr. Choate, when in [illegible] canvassed Massachusetts, said, not slavery, but "a patriarchal system of labor." So Gen. Banks organizes labor, sets up a Provost Marshal—a [illegible] military officer—who visits the white man [illegible] sleeps, gets up in the morning, and [illegible], at arm's length, to the complaints of the freedman. What chance of justice has he? His wages having been originally fixed by that Provost Marshal, and the employer, without any voice of his, any difference is referred to the Provost Marshal; and practically, necessarily, though not included in the ostensible system, behind the Provost Marshal stands the lash. I have here the letter of a New England Brigadier-General stating that to his knowledge the freedmen are whipped. I have in my own ears the confession of a New York Colonel that he had sent his own soldiers to see it done; and we have the statement, in Col. McKaye's report that whipping was undoubtedly practised on many plantations under this beautiful "organization of labor." Thus Gen. Banks hands over the black man to the white race in Louisiana, and then Mr. Lincoln insists that that State shall be admitted as a representative State, with two Senators to balance New York, and five Representatives to balance Connecticut. By all the record of thirty years, I protest. By every principle held sacred in the anti-slavery discussions of a quarter of a century, I protest against accepting that bastard as a true son of the rebellion (applause). Louisiana is "keeping the promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." It is sacrificing the very essence of the negro's liberty to the desire for a prompt reconstruction. I do not believe it will be possible to reconstruct these States for a quarter of a century if the attempt is made to reconstruct them of white men. This generation never will have their minds changed to that extent that they can be trusted. I said to one of the Provost Marshals of North Carolina—the most Union State of all, it is said, "How much unionism is there in North Carolina?" "Well," said he, "when a man is half whipped and thoroughly starved, he is a very good Unionist." No doubt he is. The white race is no fit timber to build States with, and looking at the question as mere citizens, the ballot to the negro is indispensable, because we have no other timber to build States with, and unless we build with him, we must postpone reconstruction for so many years that the very patronage of territorial government would swamp Republican institutions. Keep them territories, let the Democracy come in in eight years or four, with the money power of this banking system in one hand and territorial governments in the other, and Republican government will be almost a farce. God gives us but one bridge over the pit, like the line of the Mahomedan legend, fine as a spider's web. Step one single iota to the right or left of absolute justice, and the nation is in the pit (applause). All that the negro needs, and all that belongs to him, is the indispensable necessity of the white race, as well as justice to him. I contend, therefore, that what the anti-slavery cause needs to-day is the most indignant protest against "Banks's liberty" in Louisiana, a most indignant repudiation of it as emancipation, the most earnest protest against the acceptance of such a State by Congress on every ground, unless we would lose half the fruits of the rebellion. A government color-blind; no distinction of race in the camp or the senate; the negro entitled to vote and to be voted for; to fight with rifle in hand or to order the battle with stars on his shoulders; stars and office for the heart, brain and hand that can win and wield them; this is at once justice, fair play, magnanimity and necessity; and the only pathway to safety and empire.

I believe, friends, that there is more hope of safety to us in Richmond to-day than there is in Washington, because, as I said, speaking of the struggle within the Confederacy, if Jefferson Davis keeps the saddle, he continues the war and will clean this continent from St. Louis to St. Augustine—free every black, yes, give him a patent of nobility, before he will yield to the Yankee; and that process will educate us. Do not let us be wanting to the grand signs with which Providence beckons us forward. Whoever supposed he would live to see such an hour as we see to-day? Jefferson Davis marched out of Washington, his right hand full of fetters for the black on which he had written "forever." To-day, he sits in Richmond with pale lips debating with his fellows whether the black man will defend and save him. [Mr. MAY—"God be thanked!"] He might be painted to-day kneeling at the very feet of the negro begging help or aghast at the gulf which yawns beneath and no hand but that of the black to save him. Such a change no other page of history shows us. God has given it to us, the glorious result of battle in the South, and as keen a struggle in Northern thought and purpose here. I see it as my friend [Mr. May] does, but what I demand of him is, that in the future as in the past, he shall give us that same keen criticism which has made 1865 out of 1861, which has bent Jefferson Davis to the feet of the negro, and which will yet force him to muster that very race against us, and Northern prejudice, half exorcised by the thunders of Port Hudson and Fort Wagner—the [illegible] our side [illegible] its own place [illegible] the bottomless pit—when the negro carries a victorious banner against us. Then we shall confess "the negro will fight," not in the complacent tone of pitying condescension, but with wholesome terror and common sense (applause). Yes, it is war at the South, and as keen a war betwixt the Abolitionists of the North and the political policy which governs the Republican party, on which I base my hope—not in praises, not in wasting time telling how much has been done. The world knows that. It is the last step which makes success or failure. It is the last half hour which accomplishes victory. As Napoleon said, it is the last fifteen minutes and the last regiment which decides which army beats. I know, as my friends do, how much has been done. Just so the soldier in front of Richmond to-day knows exactly how much has been done. He can count Chattanooga and Gettysburg, Antietam, and Petersburg, and the Wilderness, and cry exultingly to Grant "[illegible]!" But suppose he should fling his arms, and say, "Lieutenant-General, we have done so much that I am going home, and shall leave you to consummate the victory, solitary and alone, over Richmond," should we think that "policy"? It seems to me some of our anti-slavery friends stand to-day counting successes after success, created solely by the anti-slavery bayonet thrust into the White House, and having finished the list, they say, "Let us fold our arms, cry great is the Republican party, and trust Abraham Lincoln to consummate a perfect victory." Will Grant, even with all his past successes, make Richmond capitulate without an army? Just as soon as the Republican party can subjugate the slaveocracy without our searching criticism and constant demand, "Onward." Justice, Absolute Justice, forthwith and forever! To-day the balance hangs. Who are to gain or lose? Don't think that I exaggerate the problem. We have not measured "the job." More than half of it remains in front to-day. The fault of the American mind from the commencement has been in not probing and measuring the vastness of the work. [illegible] years ago [illegible] and said, "[illegible] Tennessee." "[illegible]," said Sherman. "Madness, [illegible]" (laughter) "Insanity. [illegible] take thirty thousand [illegible] and he banished [illegible] fanatic west of the Mississippi, to take charge of an Indian post. It has taken three hundred thousand men to hold Tennessee; the banished fanatic [illegible] swept across the continent and snuffs the breezes of the Atlantic with conquered States for a retinue, while the young Napoleon has gone to [illegible] land. (Applause) To-day there is an opinion similar to McClellan's—that the future is so near, so ready for one grasp, that we can afford to relax our efforts, disband, muster out, and trust the Generals and Senators to [illegible] the victory. That is McClellan, thinking that Tennessee could be held with a garrison. In time, I think you will realize that the [illegible] which is to grasp [illegible] of the continent [illegible] measures to-day with anxiety, [illegible] and the vastness of the work before us [illegible].

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1865.

THE JUBILEE AT HAND.

THERE is but one topic for an anti-slavery paper to-day. The roar of cannon and the music of bells have announced it from one end of the loyal States to the other. They announced the death of Slavery and the *euthanasia* of Anti-Slavery at once. All that is to be told of what was done and how it was done our last number told. All that remains is to thank God together and prepare for a passage from this to other fields of labor. We trust that the Anti-Slavery Societies will see that dignity and self-respect should prompt them to cease from their labors when their labors have been crowned with the success for which they were organized. We hope that they will not linger out an intermediate stage of decline and dotage before sinking into nothingness. Let them dissolve themselves while they are in full power and strength and are recognized as a Power on Earth. The Abolitionists have continued unto the end and have finished their course with joy. They have seen the desire of their hearts and are satisfied. Slavery is virtually dead, and must be technically and legally so in a very few months—perhaps, in a very few weeks. Their task, in this shape, is finished. The life of their organizations has completed its round, and they should now contemplate, as it seems to us, its happy ending, and prepare to make it edifying and triumphant. The individual members, indeed, will only pass into other kinds and degrees of activity, necessary to make perfect the work already so well begun, continued and ended. But the specific campaign against slavery naturally ends with the technical and legal end of slavery. The cure of the evils which it must bequeath upon its victims and the nation, the healing of the wounds it will leave behind it, the obliteration of the scars left by the scourge, the branding iron and the fetter, on the white as well as the black man, the preparation of the way for the coming of the New State which is to replace the old one, all these things can be better done by the old Abolitionists in new combinations with new fellow-workers, such as the needs of the times will be sure to call into being.

But these are matters for future consideration. We throw them out merely because they come first to the point of the pen as we consider how the Great Event of the Century is to affect those who have given the best part of their lives to endeavoring its accomplishment. To such the event of last week is indeed one which they can hardly yet receive into their minds as an accomplished fact. They know better than any other persons, whose eyes have not been fixed on this deliverance for so many years, how great, how insurmountable, the obstacles that seemed to pile themselves up in the way of Emancipation. Every civil, political, ecclesiastical, social institution, habitude, prejudice, stood directly in the way of the slave's deliverance. Nothing but such an earthquake, and whirlwind and fire could have shaken them to their foundations, overthrown and consumed them. The sword only could sever the chains which slavery had fastened around the necks of the freemen who consented to hold those that bound the slave to his degradation. That the sword would have been bared by the slaveholders we had not expected. Some insolence of slaveholding ambition we thought might involve the nation in a foreign war which would result in the freeing of the slaves. But that they would attack their strongest allies and compel them to become their enemies was beyond the wildest dream of Abolition fanaticism. Nothing but the contempt engendered by long years of concessions, compromises and compliances can account for the suicidal act. They did not believe that the majority of the North, which had so long conciliated them by every political sacrifice of self-respect and honor, would resist them to the death in the wager of battle which they invoked. They expected a surrender at discretion and the joyful acceptance of such terms as the conquerors might see fit to impose. Happily, they were mistaken, and we as well. The compliances and concessions had not been made out of pure subserviency and love of slavery and its rule. They had their mistaken origin, largely, in a genuine love of country, of its greatness and prosperity as involved in its territorial and political unity. This was shown by the unanimity with which the free States sprung to arms, as soon as it was clear that there was no other means of preserving that unity intact. It was a display of spirit which the slaveholders might well wonder at, for it amazed the Abolitionists quite as much, who had been watching the signs of the times and of the popular sentiment for thirty years.

However it was brought about, it has come to pass. The Amendment has passed in a Congress one House of which the Democratic Opposition had the control, as far as this matter was concerned. The tide of public sentiment had set so strongly in this direction that Democratic public men with any possibility of a political future before them saw that it would be fatal to them to place themselves in resistance to its flood. And we doubt not that many of them, to whose direct or indirect assistance we owe the early decision of the matter, rejoiced to give their help to the Right at that critical and historical moment. We have always held and expressed the opinion that this would be so when the trial came. We thank them in the name of the Nation for having given to Mankind the political influence which was meant for Party when they received it. We believe that they will have their reward in the approbation of their very constituences—certainly, in [illegible] every[illegible]. [illegible] express [illegible] feel to the [illegible] of both Houses [illegible] and patient labors [illegible] success is their ex[illegible] will record [illegible] on the page where she writes it down. The thirty-first of January will ever be a Red Letter Day in the Calendar of the Race. It will only be surpassed in glory by the one in which the Ratification shall be proclaimed, and with it Liberty to all the inhabitants of the land. From that day will date the new [illegible] virtue, intelligence, and prosperity on which the Nation is now about entering. The splendor of her power and glory, which will place her at the head of Christendom and Civilization, will throw a sacred halo around the opening of an Era in which all mankind shall rejoice. For this deliverance will not limit itself to the black slaves of this continent, but its issues will reach to all lands and peoples. The Great Republic will now stand up beautiful yet terrible in her beauty—inviting the love of the oppressed everywhere and causing the hearts of tyrants to faint within them.

And what is to hinder the speedy coming of that glorious day? Let all who are longing to see it [illegible] hastening it and it will soon arrive. If the resolutions of Mr. Sumner shall prevail, excluding the rebel States from being counted among those whose ratification is necessary, the work is virtually done already—for the assent of three-quarters of the loyal States is assured. And, surely, nothing could be more politically suicidal than the opposite doctrine, which should permit red-handed traitors to defeat the will of the Nation in the enactment of its fundamental law. [illegible] well allow the unconstitutionality of Mr. Lincoln's election, or the existence of Congress itself, because a portion of the States have traitorously withdrawn themselves from action under the Constitution. But even should this folly be possible, we are confident that the twenty-seven States then necessary can be had. Why should any time be lost in consummating this sublime act? Why should not the President suggest to the Governors of States whose Legislatures are not now in session, the wisdom of calling extraordinary sessions for this great end? A single day would suffice for the work, and the people would rejoice to have it dispatched out of hand. At any rate, the people themselves can act and move the Chief Magistrates of their States to take the responsibility, little in itself but of vast results. It could be all done before the Fourth of March if the people and the Governors are so minded, and the next American Olympiad might begin, continue and end without having its history darkened by the shadow of a single slave. Let the press and the pulpit speak in this behalf, and let the voice of Congress be heard commending it, and this greatest act of National Justice will be completed with a rejoicing haste in some measure compensating for its long delay.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

THE Amendment of the Constitution, intended to abolish and forever prohibit slavery in this country, has been ratified by the following States:

1. Illinois,	6. Missouri.
2. Maine,	7. New York,
3. Maryland,	8. Pennsylvania,
4. Massachusetts,	9. Rhode Island,
5. Michigan,	10. West Virginia.
11. Ohio.	

California, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Nevada and Wisconsin will doubtless follow within a very short time; and we are not without hope that New Jersey will also add her voice to the grand chorus of Liberty. The Legislatures of Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont are not now in session, but they will ratify the Amendment the first chance they get; perhaps they may be called together in extra session for the purpose.

It is confidently stated that James Guthrie, the newly chosen U. S. Senator from Kentucky, wrote a letter advising Mr. Cox, member of Congress from Ohio, to vote for the Amendment. If this is true, there is good reason to hope that the Legislature of Kentucky will add that to the roll of free States. Reports as to the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment in that State are of the most cheering character.

In the Senate last week Mr. Sumner offered joint resolutions embodying and supporting by argument the doctrine that the Amendment will be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution, whenever ratified by three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress. We have not room to print these resolutions now, but we shall watch the action of Congress upon them with an interest commensurate with the importance of the question. If they shall be adopted by the two Houses, and the doctrine they embrace receive the sanction of the people and of the Supreme Court, it will be well; but the friends of freedom should struggle meanwhile to secure a ratification which will admit of no doubt or cavil in any quarter.

The Joint Resolution embracing the Amendment was, inadvertently it seems, sent to the President and by him promptly signed. The Senate subsequently adopted a resolution declaring that the President's approval of the Amendment is unnecessary to give effect to the action of Congress in the premises, and that its transmission to him, being the result of an inadvertence on the part of the Clerk, should not constitute a precedent for the future.

THE PRESIDENT SERENADED.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Feb. 2.

The serenading party, last night, having played several airs before the White House, the President appeared at the centre upper window, under the portico, and was greeted with loud cheers.

The President said he supposed the passage through Congress of the Constitutional Amendment for the Abolishment of Slavery throughout the United States was the occasion to which he was indebted for the honor of this call (applause). The occasion was one of congratulation to the country and to the whole world. But there is a task yet before us—to go forward and consummate by the votes of the States that which Congress so nobly began yesterday (applause, and cries "They will do it," etc.). He had the honor to inform those present that Illinois had already done the work (applause). Maryland was about half through; but he felt proud that Illinois was a little ahead. He thought this measure was a very fitting, if not an indispensable adjunct to the winding up of the great difficulty (applause). He wished the reunion of all the States perfected and so effected as to remove all causes of disturbance in the future, and to attain this end it was necessary that the original disturbing cause should, if possible, be rooted out. He thought that all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery by issuing an emancipation proclamation (applause). But that proclamation falls far short of what the Amendment will be when fully consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be added that it only aided those who came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up, or that it would have no effect on the children of the slaves born hereafter. In fact it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this Amendment is a king's cure for all the evils (applause). It winds the whole thing up. He would repeat that it was the fitting if not the indispensable adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are [illegible]. He could not but congratulate all present, himself, the country, and the whole world, upon this great moral victory.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

WE informed our readers last week that three Commissioners from Richmond had arrived within the Union lines, and that the Secretary of State was reported to have gone down to Fortress Monroe to meet them. Just after going to press news came that the President had followed Mr. Seward, and forthwith the air was full of rumors that the war was virtually at an end and that the Union was certain to be speedily restored. We did not, however, for one moment credit these rumors, being convinced that neither party would [illegible] the terms offered by the other. We were not disappointed, therefore, when the announcement came on Saturday that the President and Mr. Seward had returned to Washington, and that their consultation with the rebel Commissioners had only served to make the truth more clear that peace is not to be obtained by negotiation, but only by a vigorous prosecution of the war.

We shall not occupy our precious space with the various, and, in some respects, contradictory rumors as to what was said in the interview between the President and Mr. Seward and the Rebel Commissioners, since it is probable that the exact truth, from the pen of the President himself, will be submitted to Congress and conveyed by telegraph to our readers before this paper can reach them. We will only express the belief that the President demanded of the rebels neither less nor more than that they should lay down their arms, submit to the authority of the National government, and consent to the abolition of slavery on every square foot of American soil. If the Commissioners expected or hoped to obtain for themselves terms of peace more favorable than these they were certainly disappointed and foiled.

ANOTHER FREE STATE.—It will be remembered that the new State of West Virginia, at the time of her organization, did not abolish slavery at once, but only provided for its gradual extinction. On the first inst., the Legislature passed an act of Immediate Emancipation in these words:

Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

1. All persons held to service or labor as slaves in this State are hereby declared free.

2. There shall hereafter be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

After thus wiping out the last remnant of slavery in West Virginia, the Legislature, on the 8th inst., ratified the Amendment to the Constitution for the abolition of slavery in the United States.

PERSONAL.

Elihu Burritt, the "learned Blacksmith," has been appointed U. S. Consul at Birmingham, Eng.

The joint resolution of thanks to Gen. Sheridan, first adopted by the House, passed the Senate by a unanimous vote on the 1st inst.

James W. Nye and Wm. N. Stewart, U. S. Senators from the new State of Nevada, took their seats in the Senate on the 1st inst.

Anna E. Dickinson will speak in the Cooper Institute next Tuesday evening. Subject: "A Glance at our Future." For further particulars see advertisement in the daily papers.

The Ohio Legislature has extended an invitation to the escaped journalists, Messrs. Richardson, Browne and Davis, to address that body on the condition of our prisoners in the South and their personal experience among the rebels.

Frederick Douglass will deliver the third lecture of the course before the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania, in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on Thursday evening next. His subject will be "Equality before the Law." There will be music on the occasion by the "Black Swan" and the Post Band from Camp William Penn.

We learn from the Oberlin *News* that J. Mercer Langston, Esq., of that place (the well-known colored lawyer and orator), lately returned from a very successful tour in the Southwest, whither he went on invitation from the people of Nashville, speaking with great applause in that place, in Louisville, in St. Louis, etc. In Nashville he spoke with applause for impartial freedom, the Governor and prominent citizens being among his auditors, on the very spot where Amos Dresser, a little less than 30 years since, was publicly flogged for having an anti-slavery tract in his valise—Presbyterian elders assenting to and participating in the ceremony!

Fernando Wood, now that his hitherto disgraceful Congressional career is about to close, seems inclined to repent of his Secesh proclivities, forsake his old party associates, and put himself on the record as a War Democrat. He made a war speech in the House the other day, and on Monday presented a resolution, which was adopted, declaring "that it is the duty of the President to maintain, in every constitutional and legal manner, the integrity of the American Union as formed by the fathers of the republic, and in no event, and under no circumstances, to proffer or accept negotiations which shall admit, by the remotest implication, the existence of any other federal or confederate government within the territory of the United States." "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

The Rev. Calvin Fairbanks, who suffered a captivity of twelve years in a Kentucky prison on account of his humanity to a fugitive slave, told the story of his imprisonment in the Cooper Institute and in the Shiloh Presbyterian Church last week. The *Independent* well says: "We have never heard a tale more full of horrors. The plain statement of the facts, ungarnished with rhetoric or oratory, made the hearer's blood run cold. A hearty audience (composed both of whites and blacks, as all American audiences should be) congratulated him on his release into freedom. We hope Mr. Fairbanks will make haste to write his story into a book, that all the world may have proof that the Romish Inquisition was not a whit more cruel than American slavery." In twelve years Mr. Fairbanks received 35,000 lashes on his body—all because he *could not* perform the amount of labor exacted of him!

Rev. Wm. Henry Channing, Chaplain of the U. S. House of Representatives, seeing in the *Independent* the statement that he had not invited ministers of other denominations than his own (Unitarian) to preach before Congress, addressed a letter to that paper, in which he says:

"I have invited ministers of all leading communions in the United States—Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, etc.—to conduct the services on Sundays, and week-days, in the Hall. Never, in one single instance, have I asked the question, even in my own mind, of what 'belief' a minister was. My sole test has been *loyalty* to the NATION, and *fidelity* to FREEDOM. At various times, the House has been opened with prayer by a Baptist, a Methodist, a Congregationalist, a Presbyterian, and a Dutch Reformed doctor of divinity. It had been my desire, while Chaplain, to invite a woman to preach in the House; and the visit of Mrs. Rachel Rowland, a minister among the Orthodox Friends of Massachusetts, enabled me, last Sunday, to gratify this wish. It is my earnest desire, also, to welcome as my peer, in that meeting-place of a free people, some colored minister, before my brief term of service closes."

THE SECEDED STATES EXCLUDED FROM THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—The Joint Resolution of the House, declaring the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee not entitled to representation in the Electoral College, for the choice of President and Vice-President for the term of office commencing on the 4th of March next, was reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee of that body on the 1st inst., with an amendment to insert in the preamble, after the words "rebelled against the government of the United States," the words: "And were in such state of rebellion on the 8th of November, 1864, that no valid election for electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, according to the Constitution and laws thereof, was held in said States on said day." The amendment being adopted, a debate commenced on the resolution itself, which did not terminate till Saturday. Mr. Ten Eyck of New Jersey moved to strike from the resolution the word "Louisiana," so that the electoral votes of that State might be counted. The motion was lost—yeas 15, nays 23. Mr. Lane of Kansas moved to strike out the preamble, which the Senate refused—ayes 12, nays 30. Mr. Collamer of Vermont offered a substitute, but the Senate refused to accept it—ayes 12, nays 27. The resolution was finally adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Buckalew, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Conness, Davis, Dixon, Farwell, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Henderson, Hendricks, Howard, Johnson, Morgan, Merrill, Nye, Powell, Ramsey, Sherman, Stewart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Wright—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Cowan, Doolittle, Harris, Howe, Lane of Kansas, Nesmith, Saulsbury, Ten Eyck, Van Winkle, Willey—10.

We infer from the action of the two Houses on this question that the Senators and Representatives from Louisiana have but a slim chance of obtaining the seats they claim. The more the subject is discussed, the more clear does it become to the minds of the people that there is no need of haste in the work of reconstructing the insurrectionary States, and that the objections especially to the admission of Louisiana more than outweigh all the advantages that could be gained by such admission. We suspect that this whole question of reconstruction will be referred to the next Congress.

REPRESENTATION IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF VOTERS.—In the Senate on Monday Mr. Sumner offered a Joint Resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution as follows:

"Representatives to Congress shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this Union according to the number of male citizens of age having in each State the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; the actual enumeration of such citizens shall be made by the census of the United States."

The fairness as well as soundness of this rule of representation will be apparent on a moment's reflection. If the rebellious States should be permitted to return to the Union before consenting to allow the negroes to vote, their representation in Congress would, under the operation of this rule, be much smaller than it was before the rebellion. If they persist in excluding their former slaves from the ballot-box, why should they be permitted to count them in order to swell their representation in Congress and the Electoral College? The adoption of this amendment would offer a powerful inducement to the South to do justice to the negro by making him a voter.

Mr. Sumner's resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and we hope it will be speedily reported and adopted.

BLACK ENLISTMENTS.—The Senate, by a vote of 28 to 10, has decided to repeal that section of the enrollment act which permits Governors of loyal States to send agents to States in rebellion to recruit and fill up quotas.

LETTER FROM MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE.

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 30.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHILE the people of the North are rejoicing over the sounding echoes of the Emancipation of Missouri, we here at home are trying to take in, in all its length and breadth, the giant proportions of the duty that has fallen upon us. "Free Missouri!" The words sound like the music of the spheres to the ears that have waited so long for them; but there are ears upon which they fall with a dull, leaden sound. Ears that dreaded them always, ears that heard the sound of the lash and the wail of the bereaved mother without a pang cannot be expected to receive the new note with complacent joy, or keep time to the progressive marches with accordant step.

There are thousands who have said, "let it be done," that thought or cared nothing for the negro, and had not lurking anywhere in the most privy chamber of their souls one thought of real opposition to the thing "slavery." But for party purposes, or as a "military necessity," they gave their vote for the right, with their faces turned toward the wrong, and consequently will be ready at the first moment of revulsion to throw the weight of their influence against any measure of justice to the colored man, or once slave, that may arise. Missouri has many such heartless children. Hence the duty of the true friends of freedom in the Western and Border States is far more arduous than in the East, where so few of the abused race are found.

The Suffrage question is causing much conversation in private as well as public circles, and I do assure you prejudice of color fades away in the minds of many who have been brought in contact with the refugee class that infest the cities. "The negro is the better man of the two," is said by nearly every one that has aught to do with the two classes. How the question will be decided is yet uncertain. Sure it is, the State Constitutional Convention is not made up of Solons, and while the leading paper of the Radicals takes ground against the measure of Negro Suffrage we may well fear that the word "white" as well as the word "male," will still proclaim the fact that Missouri is only free to "*white male* citizens." But we can afford to wait, if only in the end intelligence shall be made the test of citizenship, or the basis of political right in this mighty land of ours.

A few of the philanthropic ladies of St. Louis are now busily engaged in preparing an "Industrial Home" for both Freedmen and Union refugees, where all that come shall be taken in and cared for, clothed and sheltered, and taught to read and work, until they can be sent out with the needful instruction for earning their own bread. For this purpose the use of a very large new building, erected for a hotel on Broadway, and used since the war as a hospital, has been granted them by government, or by the military commander of the post, Gen. Dodge, who seems to feel more interest in the fate of the poor and oppressed than did his predecessor. Government supplies (in part) rations and comforts for this home, and the Western Sanitary Commission, active in good works, will, through its "Freedmen and Refugee department," make up the deficiency.

No movement could be better than this, if well carried out. To teach these people how to live is quite as important as to teach them to read. But here all will go together—the book teacher for all, old and young, not otherwise employed, and the sewing teacher and house work teacher. I am glad to say the matter of work is not to be left optional with the inmates. If they receive help, they must obey orders. If they will not, the institution with its comforts and acquisitions is not for them. Has the East a helping-hand for this noble enterprise? Remember that Missouri has suffered fearfully, and this great city, once so prosperous, now so crushed in its commercial life, yet ever fighting the battle of loyalty manfully, has a very heavy burthen to bear, and will need many a word of sympathy and good cheer to help it on in its thorough Emancipation work of teaching the freed men and women to be self-supporting.

A light breeze is observable on the Temperance sea. I notice a Convention in the State of Illinois is called for to-morrow, Jan. 31st, to be held at Alton. If there is any potency in the title of Reverend, it should be a powerful affair, from the number of names that appear in the call with that prefix. There is great need of a stirring up of the pool. But where shall be found in all the manly race enough of the well and strong to dip the sufferers in the troubled waters? The intemperance of the West is frightful, and if we may believe reports, the East has forgotten the days of her soberness to a great degree.

The argument so urgently put forth by our able men and earnest thinkers, that moderate wine-drinking in the home and family, especially of home-made wines, would have the effect to destroy the desire for bad whiskey, is answered, I think, in the apparent tendency toward destruction manifested by the young men in thousands of our best and most influential families. Nor is the evil of the habit confined to *young men*. If the gossip of the cities and villages is to be relied upon, even young ladies in their teens rise from the dinner table or go home from the evening party with a light sparkling in their eyes which is not strictly the emanation of youthful joy and innocence. God grant that the little breeze spoken of may swell to a storm that shall startle that almost omnipotent monster, Public Opinion, in his castle of selfishness, from his false security, washing away the sandy foundations and compelling him to flee to the protection of his present enemies, whose mansions are builded upon the rocks of Temperance.

I have no special news, as Missouri is at present in comparative peace and quiet. The long struggle ended, as it were, by emancipation, the people are glad to rest.

Business is very dull in St. Louis, and speculators are all getting an oil fever, and may be seen riding a tilt among the hills and valleys, prospecting for the signs of that oleaginous substance that seems just now the light of our dark national morning as it approaches the sunrise. As yet, I do not hear that success has crowned any of their efforts in Missouri. This is a wonderful time we live in. War desolating the land and freedom springing up from the ashes and unfurling her banners over the burning cities; the whole Northern and Eastern States prosperous beyond all precedent; the Middle States striking the rocks which pour forth for them their rivers of oil, that is being wafted over the ocean to give the light of the New World to the people of the old, who still are groping in blindness and moaning over the downfall of despotism. The fables of old are tame when compared with the actualities that pass daily before us. Cotton and corn may no longer compete for the Democratic Crown of America. Grease shall take the honors! Its jewels more ordorous than amber, and its diamonds sparkling flames that shall glow wherever civilization and commerce shall extend and give light to all that sit in darkness.

What next? Dare we yet look through the morning clouds for the sunrise of peace? Is it really the song of the lark we hear, waking the land to joy and life? Are our hearts soon to beat with the exhilerating throb that shall answer to the sound of liberty and peace spoken with authority—

> "When all the bells of God shall ring
> Our good ship bravely in"?

Yours truly, FRANCES D. GAGE.

RIGHTS OF BLACK MEN IN WASHINGTON.—The fact that John S. Rock, Esq, the negro lawyer, after his admission to the bar of the Supreme Court, was unable to leave Washington without a pass, induced Gen. Garfield of Ohio to offer a resolution in the House on Monday, instructing the Committee on the District of Columbia to inquire whether any regulation exists in the District which forbids persons from leaving Washington without a pass; and, if so, to report to the House under what authority the regulation is made and enforced, and what legislation is necessary to secure equal justice to all loyal persons without regard to color at the National Capital.

The resolution was adopted.

THE RIGHTS OF COLORED PEOPLE AS TRAVELLERS.—Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts introduced the following bill in the Senate on Saturday, and it was ordered to be printed:

Be it enacted, etc., That no person shall be excluded from travel on any railroad or navigable water of the United States on account of color, or by reason of any State law or municipal ordinance, or of any rule, or regulation of any corporation, company or person whatever; and colored passengers shall be subject and amenable to the same laws, ordinances, rules, regulations and usages as are white passengers, and any corporation, company or person offending against the provisions of this act shall upon conviction in any court of the United States be punished by a fine not less than $500, or by imprisonment not less than six months; provided that nothing herein contained shall interfere with any executive order of the States.

We hope this bill will be promptly passed. The nation owes it to the people of color, whose citizenship is at length acknowledged, to protect them in their rights as travellers, whether in cars, steamboats or stages.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5, 1865.

THE peace delusion has exploded, and is now thin smoke. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward got back yesterday, looking worn and a little dejected. The errand was fruitless—peace by negotiation is impossible. The great blunder was to hold a conference with the *leaders* of the rebellion at all. The President is doubtless convinced of it by this time. There is a disposition in some quarters to severely blame the President for his conduct in this matter, but I am satisfied that he was not deceived for a moment, and did not expect that the rebel leaders would offer admissible terms. He was exceedingly desirous of satisfying the Opposition of the North that it is impossible to *negotiate* an honorable peace. Full of this idea, he determined to be present in person at the interview, so that he could state that peace was impossible upon his own knowledge—taking no other man's testimony upon the subject. Mr. Lincoln has been urged repeatedly by prominent members of the Opposition to *try* negotiations. Few of Mr. Lincoln's friends know with what power this argument has been put to him by men who have pledged themselves to advocate war in the event of peace negotiations proving to be a failure. A friend of mine was surprised some days ago to find Fernando Wood in close conversation with the President. In reply to a question respecting Fernando's position, the President remarked, "He is a good deal in favor of peace, and yet a good deal for war!" It is a significant fact that Mr. Wood made a war speech in the House yesterday. If the rebels won't accept fair terms and come back into the Union, Mr. Wood declares for the vigorous prosecution of the war. He would then *compel* them to terms. One result of the President's conference with the rebels may be that hereafter Fernando Wood will be among his supporters!

There can be no doubt, to be charitable to Mr. Lincoln, that he had no idea of abandoning one jot of principle for the sake of peace. He went to see if honorable peace was possible without further war, and he has come back satisfied. So much in Mr Lincoln's defence, but every intelligent Republican must condemn *negotiations with the rebel leaders*. We should confer with *the people of the South*. The feeling in Congress has been intense upon this subject, because it was considered to be an outrage to hold communication with the leaders of the rebellion.

The *Chronicle* of this city seems to have gone crazy upon the subject of peace during the week. It has talked day after day as if we were on the eve of peace. It has been ready to give up almost everything for it. "Slavery being dead," it said, "we make no conditions but that of Union." Now slavery is *not* dead, nor is it at all certain that the Constitutional Amendment will be adopted by three-fourths of the States. If the rebels were to come back at once with no stipulations respecting slavery, it is morally certain that the institution would outlast the present century, for slavery is one of those institutions that must be dug up by the roots to make sure that it will die. The nation is curious to learn what terms *were* offered at Fortress Monroe. Rumor states that in one of the propositions tendered Union was included, but it also included State-rights, and of course slavery and the payment of the public debt of the rebel States! For my part, I do not believe that the rebels offered Union. I am informed, however, that Jeff. Davis, in a letter written to Mr. Blair, which he knew would be shown to President Lincoln, did ask for a conference to see if peace could not be restored to "*our country*." The words were used in such a connection that they could mean but one thing—a united country. The elder Blair placed a good deal of dependence upon these words, and felt exceedingly confident that peace would result from the efforts he had made for it. But just at present Mr. Blair is not very popular in Republican circles in Washington, however it may be in other parts of the country. His peace negotiations have not added to his reputation.

At the very time that the negotiations were going on at Fortress Monroe, the Senate was debating (incidentally) the very subject, and Senator Reverdy Johnson, who is supposed to know more than any member of Congress just what passed between Blair and Jeff. Davis, was making some very singular suppositions. He said:

"Now, Mr. President, a singular state of things is existing at the very moment I am speaking. The President of the United States, under the authority of the act of 1861, has declared these States in a state of insurrection, and we have hundreds of thousands of men upon the field of battle. What is said to be the case? Officially or unofficially he sends or authorizes to go to Richmond a very respectable gentleman, as it is supposed to ascertain upon what terms this war can terminate, or, to state it in different words, on what terms or conditions this insurrection can terminate. He goes. He is said to have returned. While there he had an interview with these rebel authorities. He returns. He goes back again in a government vessel. Did he, after his return and before he went back to Richmond, have an interview with the President of the United States? If so, what was the result of that interview? We do not know, but we may have our speculations about it. Suppose that in that interview, acting under an express authority from the Confederate authorities, he informed the President of the United States that they are willing to lay down their arms now, and come back into the Union at once; that they are willing to admit that slavery is either actually abolished by force of his proclamation, or that it has been abolished to the extent that your armies have gone and you have got actual physical possession of the negro; and that they are willing to leave the question of the effect of the proclamation over such portion of the slaves as have not come within the possession of the military authorities of the United States to be passed upon by the courts. The President, it is said, is willing to do that. He has said that more than once.

'Suppose further that they are willing—I am dealing in speculation, but I believe to a certain extent it is right—suppose they are willing to say: 'We assent in coming back to the Union to be governed by any constitutional amendment which may be now in progress, or which may be started hereafter, abolishing slavery throughout the United States'; and the President says (for no treaty is necessary), 'I agree; I am warring against you now exclusively under the authority of the act of the 13th of July, 1861. I agree to that; if you will throw down your arms and express a willingness to abide by the decision of the courts on all questions of doubt in relation to the continuance of slavery, if you will not claim the right to have restored to slavery those who have enjoyed even for a moment the blessings of freedom, and you are willing to stand by any constitutional amendment upon that subject which may be adopted by the required number of States, come back, come back, for I have no right to carry on the war further; the war ends of itself.' It would be, in my view, upon the part of the President murder if he authorized a single man to be shot upon the field of battle or otherwise after such a state of things as that should arise."

A clue can be obtained to the Blair negotiations in that speech, but its conclusion is that of an Opposition lawyer.

The passage of the Joint Resolution providing for the Constitutional Amendment by the House on Tuesday was a momentous event. I confess frankly that when Congress came together I had no hope that Mr. Ashley's motion to reconsider could have a successful result. This opinion I shared with Republicans of sagacity here, who could not see *how* nineteen Democratic votes could be obtained for the measure. It is even now a wonder how such men as Coffroth and McAlister of Pennsylvania voted for it. It is sufficient to say that they *did* vote for it, and let them be honored accordingly. The credit belongs principally to Mr. Ashley of Ohio. He has been at work the whole session, and it is his management that secured the passage of the Joint Resolution. If anyone supposes that it was agreed to without constant work and watching, or without solicitation, he is very much mistaken. I am told by one who knows that there has never been a moment before ten o'clock of last Monday night when the Joint Resolution could have passed. *Then* enough Opposition members pledged themselves to go for it to make its success certain, counting the absentees. One man pledged that night lacked the courage to vote as he agreed to do. The scene was absorbing and intensely exciting to strangers present. It must have been painfully so to the three or four Republican members who knew exactly how the matter stood, and who watched most jealously to see if there were any defections.

It is a singular fact that Mr. Marble (of the New York *World*) wrote here to a prominent Democrat that "it was not a party question," and intimating that if any Opposition member desired to vote for it, he need not fear that the party newspapers would lash him for it.

In this connection let us give Montgomery Blair the credit which is his due. He labored earnestly on the Opposition side of the House for the passage of the Joint Resolution. I know this, for two or three of the most intelligent Democratic members have rehearsed to me his arguments with them. Two of them voted right, and another who voted wrong told me Blair "almost persuaded" him to become an Abolitionist! There is no doubt, therefore, that Montgomery Blair worked for the success of the Constitutional Amendment. AVON.

AN HONEST CONFESSION.

One of the most effective speeches in support of the Anti-Slavery Amendment to the Constitution was that made by Hon. Moses F. Odell, a life-long Democrat, representing one of the Brooklyn districts in Congress. After expressing his belief that the influence of the Amendment, in case of its adoption, would not only reach the negro, but affect for good the future destiny of the white race North and South; "that the existence in our country of antagonistic systems of labor has brought upon the nation the terrible calamity of a wasting civil war, with all its desolations, costing the country the lives of hundreds of thousands of its best and bravest sons, and wasting her material resources;" and that, the destruction of slavery being the legitimate fruit of the rebellion, he is "in favor of giving it a constitutional burial," he goes on to make a frank acknowledgment of the error committed by his party in their past action on the subject:

"The action of the South in their rebellion has not commended them to me for any special acts of grace or forbearance. Their treason to their country is only equalled by their treachery to the Democratic party. Personally I have feelings upon this subject toward the men of the South for their treason, as a Democrat, that no men of the Opposition have a right to indulge in.

"The Democratic party had been their faithful defenders. We were and had been their friends through evil and good report. We had stood by them in all their interests. More than this, we have yielded our own convictions and prejudices to theirs. As we met them from time to time in our national conventions it was only to submit to new demands made upon us to favor, strengthen, and extend their system of slave labor. To secure peace and harmony these demands were acceded to. The steadily increasing pecuniary interest of the slaveholders gave them power, and led them, in the love of gain, to depart from the teachings and principles of the fathers upon this subject. With the modern slaveholder it was no longer an evil to be endured for a while, but a blessing to be perpetuated through all future time.

"From our present stand-point the error of thus having yielded to the Slave Power of the South is clearly seen by the nation and more keenly felt by the Democratic party. I need not say to the intelligent men who surround me, that *if the party North had resisted this encroachment upon the religious belief and Northern sentiment forced upon us by the South, the war now waging would never have been inaugurated. Better for our country and the race had we exerted our power and manhood at an earlier period in our history*."

This confession does honor alike to the head and heart of Mr. Odell, and we have no doubt that it expresses the feelings and convictions of thousands of Democrats who have been kept in a false position by the force of party ties which they lacked the courage to break. We are glad that Mr. Odell has spoken for them, and we trust that his example will inspire them with a resolution to make atonement for past errors by a noble devotion, in time to come, to the great principles of impartial liberty.

A BLACK MAN'S OPINION OF GEN. SHERMAN'S ORDER.

THE late order of Gen. Sherman, setting apart certain territory in South Carolina and Florida for the use of the Freedmen, which we published last week, has been sharply criticized by some friends of freedom, in view of what they regard as its colonization features. Gen. Butler, in a speech delivered in Boston last Saturday evening, and which we shall print next week, speaks of it in terms of great severity, as opposed to every principle of justice and equality. He may be right in this, but for our own part we shall not condemn Gen. Sherman until we are better informed as to the facts in the case. The order, it should be understood, is not intended to fix permanently the condition of the Freedmen, but only to provide for their security and welfare during the period in which they will require military protection and supervision. As to the best way of effecting this object, we venture to think that men on the spot, who are acquainted with all the facts in the case and with the peculiar needs of the Freedmen, are better qualified to instruct us than those at a distance. The opinion of an intelligent black man upon such a question, we think especially entitled to consideration, and therefore we print the following letter from Rev. James Lynch, for a long time one of the Superintendents of Freedmen in the Southern Department, and a man of unimpeachable integrity. Mr. Lynch, when he wrote, could have had no knowledge of the objections to Gen. Sherman's order which have been made at the North. His letter is a spontaneous expression of his own unbiassed judgment and feelings.

SAVANNAH, Ga., Jan. 24, 1865.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE following highly important order has just been issued by Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman. Much as we are opposed to the colonization of the freed people, the course indicated by this order elicits our highest gratification. It meets the exigencies of the present condition of the thousands of homeless ones, who, without it, would remain at the mercy of the ruined and whipped Southerners, in a terrible chasm between freedom and slavery, or else crowd at military posts to be totally demoralized and fed by the government.

It is supposed that the recent visit of the Secretary of War had much to do with the plan indicated in this order. Since its issue we breathe freer, especially as we have evidence that the great military hero, Gen. Sherman, has our welfare at heart.

Respectfully yours, JAMES LYNCH.

THE FREEDMEN OF WASHINGTON.

THE National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia acknowledge the following contributions:

Mrs. John M. Forbes	$200
Mrs. Lydia Maria Child	100
Wm. Lloyd Garrison	100
Hon. Oakes Ames	30
A Missourian	50
Dr. Donaldson	20
Miss Ada Sturgis	20
Hon. Joseph Holt	10
Mrs. L. D. M. Sweat	5
Mrs. Charles Hendley	10
David Low	10

GEORGE E. BAKER, Treasurer.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1865.

Note.—The destitution and suffering of the colored people in Washington have been made known through the newspapers and otherwise. It is proper to say that this destitution and suffering were caused by extraordinary circumstances, chief of which was the almost unprecedented cold weather of the last six weeks—that a great amount of relief has been afforded, and that in the main the colored people of this city are industrious and thriving. G. E. B.

THE QUESTION OF ARMING THE SLAVES.—The bill "to provide for the employment of free negroes and slaves to work upon fortifications and perform other labor connected with the defence of the country" is said to have passed both Houses of the Rebel Congress. In terms the law only authorizes the employment of the negroes as *laborers*, but it is believed to be the intention of the rebels to put arms in their hands as fast as they shall deem it safe to do so. While the subject was before the House, Mr. Wigfall of Texas said:

"In his opinion the remedy was not in abolishing slavery and reducing us to the condition of St. Domingo. He *was fighting for slavery and for nothing else*. The patent of nobility is in the color of the skin. He wanted to live in no country in which the man who blacked his boots and curried his horse was his equal. Give negroes muskets and make them soldiers, and the next subject introduced for discussion will be miscegenation. The negro wench will be placed on an equality with our wives, our mothers, and our sisters. He wanted to live in no free negro country. There were white men enough on our muster rolls to win the fight, and he thanked God that we now had an officer in command of the armies of the Cofederates States who would so direct matters as in all probability to insure success."

A Charleston correspondent of one of the rebel journals takes a different view of the question, and tells the rebel authorities how to win independence by the negro's aid. Read:

"Now let us say to the North that we are on the defensive, that they can stop this war immediately by withdrawing their troops. If they refuse, let Congress put three hundred thousand slaves in the army and put deeds of emancipation in their pockets, march one hundred thousand to Pennsylvania, one hundred thousand to Ohio, and one hundred thousand to Indiana. Tell them to spare nothing but old men, women, and children, to live on the country, lay waste as they march, or burn barracks, to take every kind of property they want to have it as their own to load every wagon, horse, mule, and ox, with the spoils, and bring it back to their old homes, and enjoy it and freedom for life. How long would Grant stay at City Point? I have heard officers of high rank say they would cheerfully volunteer to command the negro troops. Under the late law to consolidate companies, etc., hundreds of officers will be without commands, who would willingly command these troops. Let Congress do this, and, in the language of this intelligent Virginian, before next Fourth of July the war would end, and our independence would be acknowledged. Keep the men over forty-five at home, and put the negroes in the army."

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.—Mr. Eliot of Massachusetts, on the 2d inst., from the Committee of Conference of the two Houses on the bill establishing a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, reported a new bill, the substance of which is thus stated:

"The Commissioner and Superintendents are authorized to frame such regulations as will secure judicious treatment and protection in the enjoyment of their rights to freedmen, and secure to them and their posterity the blessings of liberty; every freedman to be treated as a freeman with no power or control exercised over him, except in conformity with law. No freedman is to be employed except under voluntary contract. There are to be two divisions for freedmen in every rebel State, each with an Assistant Commissioner, sub-agents, etc. The President is to give all the necessary military aid to carry the act into effect. It takes from the care of the Treasury Department agents and employees all lands and property, and places them in charge of the Commissioner of the Department, to be appointed by the President at an annual salary of four thousand dollars."

The bill was postponed for one week.

THE ELECTORAL VOTES of the several States for President and Vice President for the term of four years from the fourth of March next were opened by Vice-President Hamlin, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in presence of the two Houses of Congress, on Wednesday. The votes as counted stand:

For Lincoln and Johnson (22 States) 213
For McClellan and Pendleton (3 States) 21

Majority for Lincoln and Johnson 192

The result having been declared in due form, the Joint Convention terminated.

THE CASE OF MR. FIELD.—The Committee appointed to investigate the facts and circumstances of the late brutal attack of A. P. Field, a representative from New Orleans, upon Judge Kelley, have made their report, recommending that Field be brought to the bar of the House and reprimanded by the Speaker, and that he be deprived of the privileges of the floor. The report has not yet been acted upon.

INDIANA "BLACK LAWS."—A bill has been introduced in the Legislature of Indiana to repeal the "Black Laws" of that State. A motion for its indefinite postponement having failed—ayes 35, nays 50—we have strong hopes that it will become a law.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The Army of the Potomac began a new movement on Sunday last. In the morning the Fifth Corps took up its line of march for Reams's Station, and by noon had reached Rowanty Creek, over which a bridge was constructed. The Second Corps took up its line of march in a westerly direction, on the Vaughan road, to a point about a mile across Hatcher's Run, the scene of several former engagements, where a strong line of the enemy's breastworks was developed. The Second Division of the Second Corps, under Gen. Smythe, before reaching Hatcher's Run, turned to the right, advanced in a northwesterly direction, but before going more than three-quarters of a mile, the enemy were discovered in a strong position and in considerable force. Our troops threw up some slight breastworks, and at 11 o'clock p.m. the rebel batteries opened for the purpose of feeling our lines. Soon afterward the rebels advanced their infantry to the attack in regular line of battle, with a heavy skirmish line, and charged across the fields in fine style, but were at once driven back by a galling fire of musketry from our men. The attack was renewed several times, but the enemy suffered a severe repulse with every attack. An effort was then made to turn our right flank, but it was completely foiled by Col. Murphy's brigade of Gen. Smythe's division, who caused the rebels to suffer severely, and finally compelled them to abandon the attempt to break our lines. During the day the Fifth Corps captured a large rebel commissary train. Our entire loss for the day did not exceed one hundred.

Sherman is in the heart of South Carolina, marching two heavy columns direct upon Charleston or Branchville. At last accounts, the few rebel troops that opposed his march were steadily driven back by his advancing army, and Gen. Foster's troops were in active cooperation with him.

Admiral Porter's gunboats are moving up Cape Fear river toward Wilmington, and Fort Caswell, which was not wholly destroyed by the rebels, has been garrisoned by our forces. The city of Wilmington is not yet taken.

Advices from Col. Webb, United States Minister at Rio Janeiro, received at the State Department, bring the gratifying intelligence that the government of Brazil has issued a decree excluding the pirate Shenandoah from the ports of that Empire. At the date of these advices Mr. Seward's answer in the case of the Florida had not been received at Rio.

The Senate Committee on the Conduct of the War has made a report relative to the failure of the attack on Petersburg in July last. The testimony is very voluminous. Gen. Grant testifies that he believes the assault would have been successful had Gen. Burnside's original plan been carried out; and the Committee express their opinion that the failure was entirely owing to the alterations in that plan, ordered by Gen. Meade the evening before the attack.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom*."—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

PROMOTION OF A COLORED OFFICER FOR GALLANTRY.

From the Liberator, Jan. 27.

Nearly a year ago it became known to some of those who were specially interested in the history and character of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, that Sergt. Stephen A. Swails of that regiment had been recommended for promotion by Col. Hallowell, on the ground of his conspicuous gallantry in action, and his merit as a man of intelligence and character. Thereupon, on the 11th of March, 1864, a second lieutenant's commission was granted him by Gov. Andrew.

Some time after, Sergt. Shorter, an officer of distinguished merit in the 55th Regiment, received a similar recommendation from his Colonel, and the grant of a second lieutenant's commission from Gov. Andrew. A subscription was raised among his friends in Boston to give him a suitable outfit, and great confidence was felt among those who knew him that he would do honor to his new station.

Months passed away, and the promotions thus ordered were not put into effect. The two sergeants remained sergeants, though their Colonels and the Governor earnestly desired their promotion, and had taken all the steps needful for it. There was a hitch somewhere. After a good deal of inquiry, the point of obstruction was understood to be in the mustering officer. He did not feel authorized to muster a colored man out for promotion, or to muster him in as commissioned officer. An act so unusual required special warrant from Washington, he thought.

Had this been a groundless pretence of the mustering officer, he might have been cashiered for neglect of duty. Had nothing been wanting but an official order, that might have been sent any week of the nine or ten months that have elapsed. The ways of high public functionaries are not as our ways, but it really seems as if these acts might have been accomplished sooner, had the President and the Secretary of War agreed in *desiring* them.

At last, however, one little step forward has been taken. The *Transcript* informs us that the case of Sergt. Swails has continued to be a subject of correspondence between the War Department, the General commanding the Department of the South, and the Governor of Massachusetts, until the present time; and that on Monday last the Governor had received the copy of an order from the Secretary of War, expressly authorizing the discharge of Sergt. Swails, and his muster in as a second lieutenant. C. K. W.

THE NEXT STEP!

To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

SIR. In view of the recent proclamation of the President calling for 300,000 volunteers, and appreciating the necessity of an immediate response to this call, we would respectfully petition that permission be given to raise a number of *colored regiments*, to be officered *exclusively by colored men*.

In regard to the policy of this measure, we would respectfully urge that while many of the noblest of our race have sprung to arms with alacrity in defence of the government, many others, equally loyal, have hesitated because one of the greatest incentives to enlistment, and the greatest stimulant to the strict performance of a soldier's duty—the hope of promotion—has been denied them.

We confidently believe that the removal of this bar to a soldier's ambition would result in an uprising of the colored people, unsurpassed even by the enthusiastic response to the President's first call.

In regard to the capability of colored men to perform the duties of commissioned officers, we would respectfully suggest that there are hundreds of non-commissioned officers in colored regiments who are amply qualified for these positions, both by education and experience, and that others of our educated men, anticipating the granting of commissions to colored men by the government, have applied themselves to the study of military tactics, in order that men properly educated might not be wanting to accept them.

And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

LEWIS H. DOUGLASS,
Late Sergeant-Major 54th Mass. Vols.
JAMES T. W[illegible]LEY,
Sergeant 5th Mass. Cav.
BENJAMIN OWSLEY,
Sergeant 27th Colored Troops.
CHARLES R. DOUGLASS,
Late Sergeant 5th Mass. Cav. Vols.
JOHN H. RAPIER,
A. A. Surgeon U. S. Army.
WILLIAM P. L[illegible],
A. A. Surgeon U. S. Army.
DAVID H. W[illegible],
Late Sergeant [illegible] Vols.
A. R. ABBOTT,
A. A. Surgeon U. S. Army.
LEONARD A. GRIMES.

DIED.

KING.—Jan. [illegible]th, after a lingering illness, at his late residence in Ceres, McKean County, Pa., John King, aged [illegible]0 years and 5 months.

Special Notices.

THE FREEDMEN.—'Tis not their fault that they were slaves, nor that they now are free. They come to us as little children, helpless, naked, and hungry. Shall we not feed, clothe, and protect them?

A Committee of Ladies propose a SIX DAYS FAIR and EVENING ENTERTAINMENTS, for the benefit of the Freedmen, to take place early in March; and they solicit the coöperation of all Ladies, and others interested in this work of humanity.

Depot for supplies and donations at the residence of the Superintendent, where Ladies are invited to call for information and conference, between the hours of 1 and 5 o'clock p.m. MRS. J. WINCHESTER, Supt.

Mrs. Mary Stro[illegible], [illegible]c.

Advertisements.

THE TRIBUNE FOR 1865

PROSPECTUS

The Millitary and Naval successes of 1864, with the auspicious result of our Presidential contest, have lifted a heavy weight from the breast of the Loyal Millions of our countrymen. It is now felt even by those who have been distrustful and faint-hearted, that the Union is to emerge triumphant from the deadly strife whereinto she was so wickedly precipitated by her assailants, and that Slavery, her relentless foe, is to encounter the fate of Haman. The perils of foreign intervention and of Western insurrection are safely passed; ABRAHAM LINCOLN, no longer assailable as the choice of a minority, holds the helm of State for four years longer; the Rebellion, palpably weakened by its defeats and losses during the year now closing—with its credit so reduced that its purse-bearer officially declares that its Treasury Notes can be exchanged for coin at the rate of Twenty five only for one while its bonds command but six cents on one dollar—but awaits the blow which shall soon strike the sword from its parricidal hand and remit its master spirits to the justice or it may be to the clemency, of a sorely wronged and justly incensed but forbearing and magnanimous People. Such are the auspices which justify our faith that the year soon to open will see the Stars and Stripes float unchallenged from every battlement in the Republic, and the perfect law of Liberty for All immovably imbedded in the Constitution of our Union.

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE, founded in 1841, will enter upon its twenty-fourth year with quickened hopes and enlarged means of usefulness. Its principles need no restatement, its aims are the diffusion of Intelligence and the inculcation of a spirit of Freedom and Humanity. When this truth shall have been generally recognized and established as the basis of our institutions and polity, that injustice to the poorest, the weakest, the most despised, is a fearful mistake—that no community or State can afford to wrong even its humblest member—then will our land bask once more in the calm sunshine of peace and prosperity.

THE TRIBUNE has for the last year been published with but small profit to its proprietors, when compared with the enormous labor and outlay devoted to its publication, solely because of the depreciation of our currency below the specie standard, compelling us to buy paper and other materials at a cost considerably above the full amount received from our subscribers. On our weekly edition, the net loss has amounted to many thousands of dollars; while our large receipts from Advertising have been absorbed by the extraordinary expenses for Correspondence, Telegraphing, &c., devolved on us by the War. As we do not suppose our Patrons desire that we should work for them at our own cost, and prefer not to be patronized by any who may desire it, we have somewhat advanced for the ensuing year the prices of our Semi-Weekly and Weekly, as we have already done with those of our daily edition. This increase is purely nominal; there never before was a time when the farmers of our country could buy THE TRIBUNE for so little of their own products or labor as they can by the following

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do 5 copies, or over, for each copy, ... 3 00
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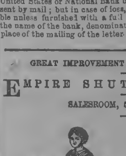

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☞ Soldiers wives and widows liberally dealt with.

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MRS. WM. G. KING, formerly Miss Lucy Ann Carter, would be glad to hear from any of her friends who have escaped from slavery. Her address is Care Rev. W. L. Judd, Port au Prince, Hayti.

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

"THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MORE."

BY AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

The stars above the mountain, that evening in December,
Upon the ice and granite poured out a golden boon;
And across the snowy garden and the window I remember,
Dropped the reflected brightness of the crystals in the moon.

And my heart said to itself, "all this beauty is a presage
Of the Nation's calm and glory, that is coming by and by";
And turning to the lamp-light, I studied Lincoln's Message,
To see if there was word or line my hope to terrify.

I had not given him a love that seemed to draw me near him,
Although he stood the figure-head on Freedom's threatened boat;
Yet just for that one act alone I said, "I will revere him,
So long as our brave crew can keep the noble bark afloat."

I read on by the lamp-light; I did not mind the fashion
Of sentences, for suddenly my tears fell on the sheet;
My being shook and trembled with an impulse and a passion
Too deep for praise—my woman's soul went down at Lincoln's feet.

I kissed the immortal paragraph! 'twas charged with power magnetic!
I laid my hands upon it, and drew life from every line!
I felt my spirit growing with a grandeur deep, pathetic,
As the aura from the author's soul touched and enveloped mine.

And I cried aloud, "O Freedom, larger service would I render
To thee, for whom the breast of all Humanity hath sighed!
Larger burdens heap upon me, O Love divine and tender!
Tax heavier and test my worth, thou Crowned and Crucified!

"My manly boy, my noble one, my all—I had no other—
My precious great heart-sacrifice to Freedom's cause was given;
The telegram has told me that no voice can call me 'mother,'
For rebel balls crashed down the bars that kept him out of heaven.

"And yet my offering, just God, cannot have satisfied Thee,
So heavy is our debt!"—I ceased, for steps were at the door;
My husband came in eagerly and took the seat beside me;
"There is a call," he said, "for just three hundred thousand more."

I looked out on the evening, I saw each starry taper,
I saw the bar of moonlight gold that lay across my cheek;
And closely in my hands I clasped that grand immortal paper,
My spirit more than willing, and my flesh no longer weak.

I felt myself in rapport with the heroes of the Nation,
The martyrs gone up higher, and the patriots below;
And I read the face beside me with its deep interrogation,
So I answered, clear and firmly, "My husband, you may go."

Then he rose and gazed upon me with an earnest look, and tender;
"Now that's my own brave wife," he said, "a tower of strength to me!"
And he marvelled that my eyes were ablaze with inward splendor,
As if fired with inspiration, or aflame with prophecy.

We shook with love and firmness, not with weakness at the parting;
How well he looked, and noble, in his loyal coat of blue!
And he whispered at the last, when the shrieking train was starting,
"I give my heart and life, beloved, to Freedom and to you!"

My silent rooms seem empty; but I gather from the stillness
Some precious strains of melody I've never heard before;
And rays of warming sunlight reach my soul through all the chillness;
God suffers not His faithful ones to falter, or give o'er.

True women of America, he's here—the great Refiner!
We've felt his purifying flame, we've seen him with our eyes;
The shadows, rolling back, reveal the glory of Shekinah,
An awful beauty round about our mount of Sacrifice.

And brave men of the Union, wait not a second calling!
Leave work-shop, farm, and counter, the mill, and threshing-floor!
Be ever true to Duty, though the heavens should seem afalling!
'Tis God who calls through Lincoln for three hundred thousand more.

Croydon, N. H., Jan. 11th, 1865.

GEN. BUTLER ON THE SITUATION.

And now, passing from that which is personal to my own actions, you perhaps desire that I should say something upon the prospects of the country in the future. Mark me, my friends, whatever happens to me will only incite me to renewed efforts in behalf of my country. If she wants my services at any, at all times, in any capacity, however humble, they shall be as freely rendered in the future as in the past. And whatever mistakes I have made—whatever mistakes other Generals have made—whatever mistakes the Administration may have made—it is not for us to remember these, or allow them for a moment to affect our actions. It is the country we serve—it is the Union to which our allegiance is due, and however men in power to-day may make mistakes, it is no reason why we should hold back a single effort in support of the war. If all men had been perfect this rebellion had not existed. It was the imperfection of men that brought it upon us, and through imperfect men it must be brought to an end; therefore, let every man gird himself for still greater efforts; do not be carried away by any delusive cry of peace, for the time of peace is not yet come. All attempts to get peace by negotiation until the army of Gen. Lee either capitulates or is whipped, are as useless as to attempt to break down the stubborn spirit of the child who successfully resists your authority. Therefore this cry of peace should lull no man into security. See to it that the armies are filled up; see to it that recruiting goes on of good men who will stay in the army after they get there. I see no desire for peace on the part of the rebels in the appointing of Gen. Lee Generalissimo, nor in the recent raid by the rebel iron-clads down the James river upon the communications of Gen. Grant. These are not peaceful movements. They mean war and bitter war, for another, and I trust, a last campaign. But though I speak thus of the cry of peace, I have no doubt of our ultimate success, neither have I any doubt that the rebel masters will arm their slaves. Let me tell you the negro makes a very excellent soldier. There is little doubt, on the other hand, that the negro soldier of the rebels will not fight the negro soldier on our side, and we have the advantage of being first in the field. Even discipline will not bring him to this, although it may bring him to fight the white soldier on our side. This movement will be the last, the final blow struck by the rebel lion, and in my judgment the blow will be unsuccessful; and from this we shall have a lasting peace, provided we deal justly by all men, white and black (loud applause). And upon no other terms, my friends, can you have peace—fair play, justice, equality before the law for black and white. A peace on that basis will stand. Without that basis it will never stand. Therefore, my friends, I say again, not looking to peace, but to the ultimate result of the next campaign, gird on your armor, do everything you can to sustain the government and to sustain the President as the head of the government. He is honest, patriotic, capable and able, and will do all he can in his position for the country (loud and long-continued applause). And if his officers execute as well as he conceives, we shall have no difficulty.

In New York, last November, I had the honor to say that I would offer to the rebels full and free pardon and amnesty for the past, if they would lay down their arms and submit to the laws. Even that proposition was misunderstood. I proposed to give them a full and free pardon, if they would submit to the laws. Why? Because whatever the result of the war may be, you will never catch the leaders of the rebellion, and the country will never come to the point of punishing those who are not leaders, and therefore you may as well make a virtue of necessity. But it has been said, "You put in your proposition nothing looking to the emancipation of the negro"; but when I said, "Submit to the laws," I believed slavery dead, and assumed as a lawyer, and believed then, as I believe now, that the proclamation of President Lincoln, in the circumstances under which it was issued, declaring the negro free, is the law of the land; and those who doubted and caviled upon that point were men who were not as strong of faith as I, and who, therefore, did not understand it. I said, further, if these men do not submit to the laws and come back to take their places under the government in a given time, they forfeit all rights. If they would submit, all necessity of raising any more men by draft or by bounty, and burdening the people with heavy taxes and debt was obviated. If they would not submit, my proposition was, instead of taxing ourselves any more to give bounties for men to take and then run away with, to say to the South, these lands of yours shall be the bounties of our soldiers when they shall have earned them, to be enjoyed by them as an inheritance to them and their heirs forever. Such a population would save us from future trouble. It would give a loyalty to the South which would rebel no more forever. Those who object to confiscating the property of the rebels for the benefit of loyal soldiers wish to see the war go on, and have no desire for a sterling and lasting peace; but give the rebel land and property to the loyal soldier, whether white, black or gray, as a reward for taking them from those who have made them a curse to the nation, instead of the blessing which God intended it to be, and you will be crowded with soldiers to end the war at once. Thus, my friends, I may be radical, I may be in advance on this question, but I again repeat it that every man may ponder upon it. Let us, instead of giving bounties which make every man we send to the army cost a thousand dollars—every regiment cost a million, besides their arms and equipments—let us take that which we are fighting for, and make the property and lands of the South the bounties of our soldiers, instead of paying them ourselves.—*Speech at Lowell.*

THE CONTEST IN MISSOURI.

Correspondence of the New York Times.

St. Louis, Jan. 16.—While the country must accord to the loyal people of Missouri all the praise commensurate with the magnitude and importance of their action in Convention assembled, it will be well enough not to so overwhelm them with congratulations that they will lose sight of the fact that but half their task is done, for the great-minded and just hold that the war had, if not abolished, at least so weakened slavery, as to render it burdensome to the master and inoperative; and the mere declaring the slaves to be free simply removed legal restraints, which were already neutralized by the existence of the war. They hold that except the freedmen are made equal before the law, the legal status of the slave is but little altered in Missouri, and that until rebels are disfranchised and the freedmen admitted to the rights of citizenship (upon the test of intelligence, say being able to read and write), the progressives of Missouri will fall short of their high duty to humanity and the future.

Charles D. Drake, whose eloquence, patriotism and radicalism are only equalled by his everywhere acknowledged ability, stands up like a man and makes the hall resonant with his cry for freedom—freedom before the law. He argues, and justly too, that emancipation is nothing to the slave, except you follow it to its logical consequence and end, and confer the rights and privileges of citizenship. His ability and labor have already secured certain legal rights for the freedmen, but they are not worthy of mention. It should be known that the action of this Convention is *final;* that there is a respectable number, probably a majority, of its members, who *believe* that the intelligent freedmen should be allowed to vote, and that rebels should be prevented; yet they have not the moral courage to do this simple act of justice, which the whole Christian world would applaud. There is a disposition to shift the duty, and place it on the shoulders of the Legislature, but it may be set down as certain that it will not be done by either body.

In this city there are hundreds of intelligent, law-abiding, industrious, colored men, who pay thousands of dollars annually in taxes, yet they have no rights more than slaves had, save and except that they might go where they choose in the State. These men are loyal, and always have been. Their assistance to the authorities has been valuable in the extreme, for they have not only been ready to respond to inquiries relative to the first steps taken by resident rebels, but they have voluntarily come forward and furnished such information as led directly to the arrest and punishment of dangerous, because secret enemies of the government. But the cause of the colored citizen needs no special pleading; his admission to the full rights and privileges of citizenship is a simple act of duty and justice, which as long as it remains undone, the curse which slavery entailed will remain to hinder and blight the progress of the State. Now is the time for united action. The military administration of Major-Gen. Dodge, the willingness of the Legislature, of the Governor, and the readiness of the loyal men who were first to take the forward steps, all augur favorably for freedom in the fullest sense; but a reluctance somewhere clogs the wheels, and when the story of emancipation comes to be told it will end with Maud Muller's regret: "What might have been."

INDUSTRY OF THE FREEDMEN.

[Rev. Elnathan Davis, in the *American Missionary,* bears testimony, as follows, to the industry of the Freedmen.]

Many hundreds of thousands have been thus emancipated—amidst war-scenes too, which are always unfavorable to improvement—and with what industrial result? Will the freed people work? The thousands of little cabins, with well-cultivated patches around them, that have suddenly appeared on fields utterly desolated by the march and conflict of armies, and the eagerness with which they are everywhere employed by individuals as well as by the government, are a sufficient answer. All that I had accepted on testimony has been abundantly confirmed by the closest observations I have been able to make.

I have lived in log cabins, and roughed it in frontier settlements, but I never saw industry so patient, or courage in the building of houses so indomitable among white men, as I have everywhere witnessed in the Freedmen. Mingo Obman, at the age of fifty-two, escaped from slavery in May, 1863, and came to Roanoke Island. He had one dime and "two red cents" to begin life with. Afterwards his wife escaped—as poor and ragged as himself—and joined him on the island. They are now living in a neat cabin, built by his own hands, and in answer to my inquiry, he told me that his wife as well as himself was well clothed—that they had plenty of provisions for themselves and to give a meal to anybody who was hungry, and would accept it; that he had a hundred dollars in cash, besides two hundred and fifty due from the government—which, he dryly remarked, "he could afford to lose if Uncle Sam needed it more than he did." I asked him if he had children. "One," who with her husband had escaped from slavery, and was living in Newbern—"and she is doing better than I am," he added. This is industry. Call this an exception if you please—but it shows what a black man can do, and as we judge of ourselves by the best specimens among us—so should we estimate the black race. I asked Obman, by the way, if he would give a meal to a hungry rebel as soon as to others? "Yes," he slowly answered—"but I should want him to leave mighty quick after he'd got his victuals."

Looking upon the new freedom, and studying as far as possible the interior history of this great exodus, I can scarcely express my own mature conviction better than in the words of a Freedman whom I met on Roanoke. "On the whole, are you satisfied with freedom?" I said. "Bless de Lord," was his quick reply, "in ebery pint o' view it is *supreme.*"

A NEGRO LAWYER IN THE SUPREME COURT.

Correspondence of the Commonwealth.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1863.

This morning I witnessed an act in the Supreme Court room hardly second in importance to that of yesterday, as an indication of the march of events. On the motion of Senator Sumner, John S. Rock, Esq., was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court. A very few friends, who knew what was coming, repaired to the Court room. At eleven o'clock the Court came in, the Chief-Justice at the head. As soon as they were seated, Senator Sumner rose. "May it please the Court," he said, "I have the honor to present John S. Rock, Esq., a counsellor of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and ask that he may be admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States."

The Chief-Justice, bowing gravely and gracefully, replied: "Let Mr. Rock advance to the Clerk's desk and take the oath." Mr. Balch, Mr. Sumner's private secretary, was admitted also on Mr. Sumner's motion. Both gentlemen proceeded to the Clerk's desk, and the oath was administered by the Clerk. I observed that the Clerk studiously averted his face from Mr. Rock, looking only towards Mr. Balch. I do not wonder, for it must have been a bitter pill for a malignant Copperhead to administer the oath, under those circumstances, to a colored counsellor-at-law. The Clerk pockets a fee of ten dollars—the same amount paid a few short years ago to the Commissioner who returned a colored fugitive to slavery.

How strange and solemn were the thronging memories of that moment! Jay, Rutledge, Ellsworth and Marshall looking down upon the scene; the perturbed shade of Taney, followed by the black spectre of Dred Scott, flitting round the room; the All Hail Hereafter, with its procession of millions of the redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled race—the central figures our noble Chief-Justice, our accomplished Senator and the counsellor of the long-proscribed race.

The scene changes. Mr Rock applies at the ticket-[illegible] him, his money is taken, and as he proceeds to the cars, he is stopped and asked for his "*pass.*" His certificate of admission to the Supreme Court will not pass him. He is obliged to go to the enrollment office to see that he is not enrolled in the District. He takes a certificate of the fact to the Provost-Marshal, who gives him a pass, authorizing him to leave the District! Hail Columbia! F. W. B.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MOONRISE ON THE WASATCH.*

The stars seemed far, yet darkness was not deep;
Like baby eyes, the rays yet strove with sleep:
The giant hills stood in the distance proud,
On each white brow a dusky fold of cloud;
Some coldly gray, some of an amber hue:
Some with dark purple fading into blue;
And one that blushed with a faint crimson [illegible]
A sunset memory, tinged with cloud regret.
Close to my feet the soft leaf shadows stirred
I listened vainly, for they moved unheard
Trembled unconsciously; the languid air
Crept to the rose's lip and perished there
It was an hour of such repose as steals
Into the heart when it most deeply feels;
When feeling covers every shred of speech
With one emotion language cannot reach,
And Nature held her breath and waited there,
An awed enthusiast at the shrine of prayer,
Like a pale devotee, whose reverent lips
Stifle the breath that burns her finger-tips.

The crimson-tinted cloud paled with a start,
As though new hope chased memory from its heart;
A gleam of whiteness stirred the vapors pale,
As beauty's finger moves a bridal veil;
A fleecy mass, wide fringed with silver light,
Drooped on the summit of the proudest height,
Then, floating Northward, swept in folds of grace
From the white beauty of the moon's meek face.
How still, how pure, that chastened lustre bowed
Its glance of radiance from its veil of cloud!
How meek the loveliness, how kind the power,
Whose arm of purity embraced the hour!
How beautiful the misty robe that trailed
O'er bloom that brightened, over stars that paled!
Though its white fold caught in a dusky cave,
Or swept its fringes o'er a gleaming wave,
Piled on the sward a mass of woven gems,
Or dragged in tatters through the forest stems!

A wave of beauty, only too complete,
Surged o'er my head and widened at my feet.
The skies seemed bowing with their wealth of light,
Yet earth sprang heavenward, 'twas so more than bright.
My heart found no expression—sought for none—
Why analyze the bliss it fed upon?
All its sensations blended into one,
Solemn yet shadowless—most glad, yet deep.
I could not smile, yet had no wish to weep.
My restless thoughts seemed into one compressed,
Yet in that one all others were expressed;
The eloquence of all things seemed possessed,
Yet no expression narrowed to my breast.
My soul seemed to expand, my heart to melt,
Blending with all that could be reached or felt.
I had no wish unsatisfied, because
My will's volition felt superior laws.
I seemed a ripple moved upon a tide,
Whose heaving billow bade me onward glide;
A breath borne upward by a tempest weight—
A trifling circumstance controlled by fate—
Something of little worth when moved apart,
One trembling fibre in Creation's heart.

Great Salt Lake City. A. E. CARMICHAEL.

* The "Wasatch" is a mountain range in Utah, whose highest peak is more than 11,000 feet above sea level. It is a spur of the Rocky Mountains.

GEN. BUTLER AND THE FREEDMEN.

Extract from his Speech at Lowell.

Upon reaching Fortress Monroe (Nov., 1863), and looking about to see what duties devolved upon me, I found therein, in the first place demanding immediate attention, 80,000 freed men, women, and children, who had escaped from slavery, and thrown themselves as wards upon the guardianship of the United States. There was no departmental organization for their care, maintenance, protection, and education. My first duty, then, upon assuming command, in the absence of active military operations, seemed to be toward the helpless beings thus cast upon our hands. I knew what you would have said ought to be done under the circumstances, and I did as I thought you would have done. I established system, order and organization of labor, so that the freedman who would work could work, and those who would not work might find means whereby they should work, and so that every freed man, woman and child should have what, thank God, we always have had in Massachusetts for all, food and raiment and protection from the inclemency of the weather (applause). Aided by your fellow-citizens, Capt. Wilder, Capt. Brown and Capt. James, I applied myself to this work, and presently order and industry arose out of the chaos in the affairs of the freed men in North Carolina and Virginia. The organization of those affairs was carried on still further under the charge of Lieut.-Col. Kineman, and has since been continued under the superintendence of your townsman, Maj. Carney. We have, as the result of one year's work in that department, 5,000 men brought into the army of the United States without bounty, and how many more with bounty I do not know, because they were credited to the several States in whose regiments they enlisted, and not to the United States. By the labors of this year we have demonstrated that the former slave population of the South can be self-supporting, even without a large proportion of the able-bodied men. We have saved from the government rations alone, which were to be dealt out to them, $100,000 and all this in two districts, having made the large losses in the negro affairs of North Carolina, because of the disturbance of labor from the yellow fever, the fall of Plymouth, and the evacuation of Washington, in April last, by the order of the Lieutenant-General. Within the same space of time we have succeeded in demonstrating that these negroes are capable of being educated. Aided by the self-sacrificing labors of benevolent teachers from the North, hundreds and thousands of children have there been taught to read, and adults, too, who never read before, and thus the negro is being fitted for that new state of liberty and citizenship to which he has been raised. Such are some of the results of this war (applause).

THE SLAVES OF JONATHAN EDWARDS.

The following legal conveyance of two negroes, once owned by the great New England theologian, Jonathan Edwards, will be read with interest. Probably the "chattels" named were not consulted in the preparation of "The Freedom of the Will." We [Hartford *Press*] have seen the original document, which reads as follows:

Know all men by these presents that we, Timothy Dwight, Jr., of Northampton, and Timothy Edwards of Stockbridge, both of the county of Hampshire and province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Executors of the late will and testament of Sarah Edwards, late of Stockbridge, in the county aforesaid, deceased, who was Executrix of the last will and testament of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late of Stockbridge aforesaid, deceased, for and in consideration of the sum of twenty-three pounds lawful money to us in hand paid by John Owen of Simsbury, in the county of Hartford and colony of Connecticut, in New England, the receipt whereof we hereby acknowledge, have sold, conveyed and in open market delivered two negro slaves, viz., the one a negro man named Joseph, the other a negro woman named Su, and is wife to said Jo, which slaves were lately the proper goods of the said Jonathan Edwards, deceased, and by him bought of one Hezekiah Griswold of Windsor, and we the said Timothy Dwight, Jr., and Timothy Edwards do covenant to and with the said John Owen, his heirs and assigns, that we have good right in ourselves to sell and convey the said negroes, Jo and Su to him as above, and that he shall and may hold them as his own proper goods from and after the date hereof.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this fourth day of August, in the 33d year of His Majesty's reign, Anno Dom., 1759.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us,

T. DWIGHT, JR., [L. S.]
TIMO. EDWARDS, [L. S.]

EBENEZER HUNT.
SETH POMEROY.

Emancipation Celebration in Florida.—A correspondent of the *Times,* writing from Key West, Jan. 3, says: "Yesterday was the first time that the colored people of the Island have been allowed without violence and molestation to celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation. Twice before have orderly and respectful assemblages of these people been broken up by violence. So bitter has been the hostility, that they have been repeatedly beaten and stoned and otherwise maltreated without provocation, upon peaceably assembling to celebrate the liberty conferred upon them by law. The change of public sentiment, however, occasioned in part by the recent overwhelming voice of the North in the recent Presidential election, and the judicious changes of the government among military officials, has been [illegible] undoubted right of all peaceable citizens. Yesterday, escorted through the principal streets of the city by our Second Regiment U. S. Colored Infantry, with banners [illegible] and to the sound of martial music these happy and peaceful people met and rejoiced over the good fortune which had betallen them. They were eloquently addressed by the Postmaster of the place by Judge [illegible] and the District Attorney, and Lieut.-Col. Wilder, officers of the garrison, and others. Letters were read from distinguished naval and other gentlemen. The citizens generally, and the army of officeholders here were not present. No white clergyman of the place, though at least one holds a government office, spoke a word of advice or encouragement upon this occasion. It would be well for the government if it were represented here by persons holding civil office who have intelligence enough to know, and manliness enough to cherish the principles which lie at the bottom of this contest."

Position of the Colored Race in Europe.—The Florence correspondent of the *Tribune,* under date of Jan. 11, writes: "The new year begins with an act of justice and wisdom in Spain. The administration of Narvaez acknowledges openly that the annexation of San Domingo in 1861 was a mistake. The heroic resistance by the Dominicans shows clearly that they do not want to be under the Spanish rule, and as Spain has no intention to make conquests, the government give up their sovereignty, bought from Santa Anna, and withdraw their troops. Thus proud Spain, defied by a handful of mulattoes, avows herself beaten, the Republican form of government has one more great triumph to record, and the colored population of Dominica has gloriously conquered her independence in open fight. What will the champions of the white race in Secessia say to such a victory? It seems that one generation is destined to see not only the downfall of slavery, but likewise the universal recognition of the equality of all the human race.

In fact, we Europeans do not understand that antipathy which American affectation pretends to feel against the colored race. Alexander Dumas, the quadroon, was the guest of princes in Europe; his father, the mulatto, was a renowned General in Napolean's time; his son, an octoroon, has just married the widow Princess Narishkin. Count Pushkin, the great Russian poet, too, was a quadroon; so was Baron Feuchtersleben, under-secretary of public instruction in Austria; and if we go back to older times, the first Duke of Tuscany, Alessandro Medici, who reigned from 1530 to 1537, was a mulatto, and the Emperor Charles V. had so little antipathy against negro descent, that he gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to the mulatto Duke. His portrait, with woolly hair and thick lips, is still seen in the public gallery of Florence, among the Dukes of Tuscany; and it gives one always a peculiar pleasure to show his dark face to the Americans, who speak with horror about miscegenation. Had Messrs. Mackay and Sala studied the question in Europe before they went to the United States, they would not have made themselves so ridiculous in their correspondence.—*Cor. Tribune.*

Free Labor in Louisiana.—*New Orleans, Jan.* 20.—The planters in this State, who have been such all their lives, and those extemporized out of Northern men who have come here to make money, seem to feel quite encouraged in spite of the universal failure of last year. I have conversed with quite a number who have been involved in debt by the failure alluded to, who think they will the coming season make up for the past, and have their hopes realized by an abundant yield. One thing is certain, the great objection which was urged against the free labor system, that the negroes would not work except by coercion, has been exploded. I am in almost daily communication with old and life-long planters—men of Southern birth and associations—who tell me that they have, to their surprise, found the laborers contented and obedient, and in many cases, the interest in the crop raised has exerted to cheerful work many who, under the coercive rule, were worthless except under compulsion. It must also be remembered that the negroes who worked on our Louisiana plantations the last year, were paid a stipend in clothes and provisions, and were to be further rewarded by a certain percentage upon the amount realized by the exported crop. Now, these emancipated men understand their bargain with their employers perfectly, and the hope of a liberal reward made quick hands, and called forth many songs. The poor people were hopeful to a degree. They saw all their bright prospects blasted by the worm and the frost; they felt that the elements were against them. *Disappointed, they have not complained,* but bear up under their losses with patience, and are ready to begin again, relying upon their strong arms and newly-acquired freedom under the blessing of Providence, yet to succeed.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

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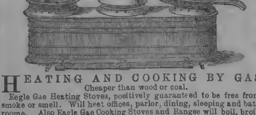

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2	28	22	23	20	14	12	75
1	24	19	20	17	11	10	50

Sample of Fire-Proof Safe at office of the American Advertising Agency, 389 Broadway, N. Y.

PRICE LIST.
LILLIE'S CELEBRATED CHILLED AND WROUGHT-IRON SAFES.
Bank, Fire, and Burglar Safes—Folding Doors, D Lock.

Nos	Outside Height	Outside Width	Outside Depth	Inside Height	Inside Width	Inside Depth	Price
	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	
1	66	5[illegible]	29	54½	39	18	$950
1½	59	50	26	48	39	15	600
2	53	44	27	42½	33	15	600
MERCANTILE F AND B SAFES. Folding Doors and Monitor Locks.							
3	50	42	27	40	32	16	$500
4	46	42	27	36	32	16	450
4	38	46	27	28	36	16	450
4	42	36	27	31½	27½	15	350
Single Doors and M Locks.							
6	36	35	26	27½	23½	15	$250
7	34	31	26	24	21	14	200
8	31	26	24	21	16	13	175
9	30	24	24	21	15	12	140
10	26	22	22	19½	13½	12	120
11	24	20	18	17	17	10	100

HOUSE SAFES.

Side Board	$600
Dining Room	350
Pantry (No. 1)	275
Pantry (No. 2)	150
Duodecagon Bank Lock	100
Monitor Safe Bank Lock	60
Safe Bank Lock	10

NATIONAL BANK SAFES.
With 2 Inside Burglars and 1 D and 2 M Locks.

No.	Outside Height	Outside Width	Outside Depth	Inside Height	Inside Width	Inside Depth	Price
	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	
	68	53	35	55	39	16	$1,200
2	61	53	35	46	39	18	1,050
3	57	47	35	42½	33	18	900
BANK VAULT BURGLAR SAFES, With Folding Doors and D Lock.							
0	68	53	27	64	48	20	$1,800
0½	61	53	27	55	46	20	800
1	57	47	27	49	40	20	600
BANK VAULT BURGLAR SAFES, Single Doors and D Locks.							
2	53	32	26	49	28	19	$459
3	42	36	22	36	32	16	400
4	36	31	20	32	27	16	350
5	30	24	16	26	20	14	250

BANK VAULT DOORS AND FRAMES, D and S Lock.

No.	Height clear.	Width clear.	Depth adjustable.	Price.	Weight.
	In.	In.	In.		
1	72	27	20	$400	3 000
2	72	27	20	275	1,500

Orders received and filled at net cash prices, by the AMERICAN ADVERTISING AGENCY, 369 Broadway, New York. All Safes shipped from Troy free of cartage.

Business Department, E. ALVORD.
Corresponding Department, FOWLER AND WELLS. 40—13t

DON'T FAIL TO READ THIS.

COFFEE! COFFEE!! COFFEE!!!

THE EAST INDIA COFFEE CO.,
154 READE STREET (three doors from Greenwich Street), N. Y.
Call universal attention to their

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
ONLY TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER POUND.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
has all the flavor of OLD GOVERNMENT JAVA, and is but half the price; and also that

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
has TWICE THE STRENGTH OF JAVA, or any other Coffee whatever; and wherever used by our first-class hotels and steamboats, the stewards say there is a saving of 50 per cent.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
is the most healthy beverage known, and is very nutritious. The weak and infirm may use it at all times with impunity. The wife of the Rev. W. Eaves, local minister of the M. E. Church, Jersey City, who has not been able to use any Coffee for fifteen years, can use

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
three times a day without injury, it being entirely free from those properties that produce nervous excitement.

Dr. JAMES BOYLE, of 156 CHAMBERS STREET, says: "I have never known any Coffee so healthful, nutritious, and free from all injurious qualities as

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE.
I advise my patients to drink it universally, even those to whom I have hitherto prohibited the use of Coffee."

The PRINCIPAL of the NEW YORK EYE INFIRMARY says: "I direct all the patients of our institution to use exclusively

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
and would not be without it on any account."

The Rev. C. LARUE, an eminent clergyman of the M. E. Church, now stationed at Halsey street, Newark, says of

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE:
"I have used it nearly a year in my family, and find it produces no ache of the head or nervous irritation, as in the case of all other Coffees. It is exceedingly pleasant, and I cordially recommend it to all clergymen and their families."

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
is used daily by the families of Bishop Ames, Bishop Baker, and many of the most distinguished clergymen and professional men in the country.

BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS!
and be sure that the packages are labelled

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
154 READE STREET, NEW YORK,

as there are numerous counterfeits afloat under the name of "Genuine East India Coffee," "Original East India Coffee," etc., put forth by impostors to deceive the unwary.

In 1 lb. packages, and in boxes of 36, 60 and 100 lbs., for Grocers and large Consumers. *Sold by Grocers generally.*

WHOLESALE AGENTS, to whom Western Grocers may send their orders: S. N. Callender, Buffalo; James Mills, Pittsburg; Gordon, McMillan & Co., Cleveland; Aaron A. Colter & Co., Cincinnati; J. & J. W. Sunn, Springfield, Ill; Sawyer & Starrett, Indianapolis.

GROVESTEEN & CO.,
PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,
499 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over strung base, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warranted in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.
No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.
No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

TERMS—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

T. B. PUGH, BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER,
NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL DEALER,
S. W. Cor. Sixth and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia.
Only Agent in the city for the sale of single copies of the National [illegible]

PUTNAM'S CLOTHES WRINGER

IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the *best* Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $5 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ:

That iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting,* durable and efficient.
That thumb screws and fastenings cause delay and trouble to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink* and split.
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in will wear out.
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will not *tear the clothes.*
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the best Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, test Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen: I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxidize or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.

Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanizing business enables me to endorse the above statement in *all particulars.*

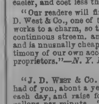
JOHN C. LEFFERTS, No. 100 Beekman Street.

NEW YORK, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is cheap; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time and it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have any, to buy this Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.

HORACE GREELEY.

PRICES, $8, $9, and $10.
Sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.
Manufactured and sold, wholesale and retail, by
PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.,
13 Platt Street, New York.
Bennington, Vt.
Cleveland, O.

CLEANSE THE BLOOD



With corrupt, disordered or vitiated blood, you are sick all over. It may burst out in Pimples, or Sores, or in some active disease, or it may merely keep you listless, depressed and good for nothing. But you cannot have good health while your blood is impure. AYER'S SARSAPARILLA purges out these impurities and stimulates the organs of life into vigorous action, restoring the health and expelling disease. Hence it rapidly cures a variety of complaints which are caused by impurity of the blood, such as *Scrofula,* or *King's Evil, Tumors, Ulcers, Sores, Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches, Boils, St. Anthony's Fire, Rose or Erysipelas, Tetter or Salt Rheum, Scald Head, Ring Worm, Cancer or Cancerous Tumors, Sore Eyes, Female Diseases,* such as *Retention, Irregularity, Suppression, Whites, Sterility,* also *Syphilis or Venereal Diseases, Liver Complaints,* and *Heart Diseases.* Try AYER'S SARSAPARILLA, and see for yourself the surprising activity with which it cleanses the blood and cures these disorders.

During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound "Sarsaparilla," and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. We think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. We can only assure the sick, that we offer them the best alterative which we know how to produce, and we have reason to believe, it is by far the most effectual purifier of the blood yet discovered by anybody.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL is so universally known to surpass every other remedy for the cure of *Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption,* and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease, that it is useless here to recount the evidence of its virtues. The world knows them.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in medicines everywhere. 39-2mo.

WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP
Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposure, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July 1, 1863.*

"J. D. West & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 100 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. DUNLAP MANUFACTURING CO."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:

"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it. . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"GREAT NECK, L. I., 1860.
"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.
"H. B. MCILVAIN."

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerfully recommend them as simple, durable, and powerful in raising and throwing water, and for their ease of action, security against frost, and low price, we believe them superior to all others.
"WARREN LELAND, Met. Hotel, N. Y.
"J. W. POMEROY, Yonkers, N. Y.
"JOHN MESSEREAU, N. Y.
"DOMINICK LAWRENCE, Westchester."

From the New York Observer.

"We have had in use for months past one of West's Pumps, which has given us more satisfaction, as a force and lifting pump, than any we have ever used. It is one of great power, and well adapted for ship's decks, mines, factories, greenhouses, graperies, etc. The *Mining Chronicle and Railway Journal* says, 'It is recommended for its extreme simplicity of construction, great strength, and consequent durability and cheapness of repair. There is no stuffing-box—the pressure being held by a cup packing, like that upon the working-piston, working in a cylinder, fitted for the purpose within the upper air chamber—which we think a great improvement, as stuffing is so liable to be deranged and leak under strong pressure, to say nothing of the loss by friction incident thereto. It has also two air-chambers; thus the action is cushioned upon both sides by air—preventing water-hammer and vacuum-thump. The valves are very accessible, and simply and cheaply repaired. They work much easier than any pump we have ever seen; the 4 inch cylinder being worked by children to wells [illegible] feet deep, and as they are extremely cheap, as well as simple and strong, we freely recommend them.'"

"CAMBRIDGE MINE, N. C., June 1, 1863.
"J. D. West & Co.—Gents. The pump which I ordered for our mine is received, and put to work in our underlay shaft, where we are sinking. We find that one man will, with ease, lift 60 gallons per minute. We lifted in three and a half hours all the water in the shaft, which measures seven by twelve feet and thirty feet deep, and it was full when we commenced. It answers our expectations in every respect, and our workmen are highly pleased with it. It will do great service with but trifling expense for repairs.
"Yours, respectfully, BURR HIGGINS."

"This may certify that I have been using, at my manufactory, for the last four years, 'West's Improved Pumps.' I now have in use three of said pumps, one of which is kept constantly at work, 24 hours of each day (save Sundays), and has been running [illegible] past two years. I pronounce them, unhesitatingly, the best [illegible] that have been brought to my notice, having used many [illegible] previously. They are simple in their construction [illegible] JAS. A. WEBB. disarranged.
"N. Y., October 10, 1859."

We have plenty more such [illegible] enough. For Pumps, Hose, [illegible] J. D. WEST & CO., [illegible] Broadway, N. Y.

Orders may be sent through the AMERICAN ADVERTISING AGENCY, 389 Broadway.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

W M. [illegible] E A [illegible] C K
GENERAL FURNISHING UNDERTAKER,
NO. 18 NORTH NINTH STREET, WEST SIDE, PHILADELPHIA.

Constantly on hand a general assortment of ready-made [illegible] and every requisite for funerals furnished on the most accommodating terms.

Lead Coffins furnished at the shortest notice.

Lots, Half Lots, and Single Graves, in all the principal Cemeteries, for sale.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for his superiority over all others in the manufacture of Travelling Trunks, Carpet Bags, Valices, Coaches, Hobby Horses, sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks of all descriptions, of the best material and workmanship. Black Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.

THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer,
402 Market st., one door above 4th, South side, Phila.

PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.—Fine Photographs, 18 by 15 inches, of Paine's Pen-and-Ink Drawing of the Emancipation proclamation, handsomely illustrated. The original was donated to the Brooklyn Sanitary Fair, and by a subscription of $500 presented to the President of the United States. It is a beautiful and artistic work.

Single copies sent by mail prepaid on receipt of $3.
Canvassers wanted for every section of the country.
Copy-right secured apply to ROWLAND JOHNSON, 119 Market st., Phila.
54 Beaver st., New York.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business. Every one his own Salesman.

JONES & CO., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 604 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with the full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price. Remember the Crescent, in Market, above 6th No. 604. JONES & CO.